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U.S. Move on Strategic Arms Curbs Urged

PM1307160588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by Candidate of Military Sciences Colonel V. Nazarenko: "On the Way to an Agreement on Strategic Offensive Weapons"]

[Text] The latest round of Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons opens in Geneva today. The aim of the talks is to prepare for signing a draft agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons. How realistic are the prospects of such an agreement being concluded before the end of the incumbent U.S. Administration's term in office? Is Washington ready to make this political decision? What problems have to be resolved on the way to reaching an agreement between the USSR and the United States to make radical cuts in strategic offensive weapons?

The first problem is to ensure the implementation of the Washington accord on observing the ABM Treaty. Deliberately ignoring the linkage between strategic offensive weapons and the ABM Treaty, SDI supporters in the United States are working toward a situation whereby the ABM Treaty is formally preserved, while a free hand is retained in preparations to deploy [razvertyvaniye] a large-scale ABM system with space-based elements and to transfer offensive weapons into space. Their calculations are simple: When the opportunity appears to put the first phase of SDI into practice, the treaty can be discarded and abandoned.

A report by the Federation of American Scientists names three planned experiments as part of the SDI program which, in its opinion, will represent a flagrant violation of the traditional (strict) interpretation of the ABM Treaty. They are the testing of a special optical aviation system, the space-based "Zenith Star" chemical laser, and a system for detecting and tracking missiles in the boost stage of the flight trajectory. In addition to this, another violation of the ABM Treaty will be the testing of a so-called space-based interceptor—a space platform armed with banks of 5-10 nonnuclear interceptor missiles and devices for tracking enemy targets. The first test is planned for the early nineties.

This is why the Soviet Union is in favor of strictly observing the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and not withdrawing from it for an agreed term. Our stand is not some whim or tactical subterfuge. The ABM Treaty is a basis for strategic offensive arms limitation and reduction without which the development [razvitiye] of antimissile defense would lead to a buildup of strategic offensive weapons.

Another serious impediment to an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons is long-range air-launched and, particularly, sea-launched cruise missiles.

What is the crux of the problem with air-launched cruise missiles [ALCM]? Our position is this: First, every heavy bomber, regardless of whether it is equipped with nuclear or nonnuclear charges, must be included in the 1,600 strategic nuclear charge delivery vehicles to be permitted to the Soviet Union and the United States under the treaty; second, if a heavy bomber is equipped with long-range nuclear cruise missiles, each missile must be included in the 6,000 nuclear charges each side will be permitted to have; third, if a heavy bomber is equipped with shorter-range missiles (cruise or ballistic) (with a range of up to 600 km) or with free-fall bombs, it must be included as a unit in the 1,600 delivery vehicles and as a unit in the 6,000 warheads. It is hard not to agree, as they say, with the logic of these arguments (regarding the procedure for reckoning the number of warheads and their delivery vehicles). Our partners in the talks have voiced no objections on this score. But they would still like to place long-range nonnuclear cruise missiles outside these limitations.

The United States would thereby have a reserve of 200-300 heavy bombers, each of which could accommodate 10-20 cruise missiles. These figures are based on some expert assessments and on the information which the United States has officially conveyed to the Soviet Union. The replacement of nonnuclear with nuclear charges when necessary is not in principle a problem from a technological standpoint. Consequently, there is no point in reckoning the number of heavy bombers and long-range cruise missiles in their nonnuclear configuration—this would mean giving the United States the opportunity in advance to site [razmestit] an extra few thousand nuclear charges on its strategic delivery vehicles at any point in time, in addition to the agreed 6,000 nuclear charges. Can we agree to this kind of accounting? Certainly not. As is well known, the ceilings on delivery vehicles and warheads for the two sides have been agreed. Consequently, any attempt to exceed these limits in any way must be regarded as an outflanking maneuver calculated, at the very least, to prolong the talks on strategic offensive weapons. During the Moscow summit meeting, we succeeded in considerably broadening the area of accord on the ALCM issue. Nevertheless, the Geneva talks delegations evidently still have to overcome considerable difficulties in the process of evolving a method for calculating the number of these missiles.

Now the question of long-range nuclear sea-launched cruise missiles [SLCM]. These are extremely dangerous weapons whose proliferation [raspolzaniye] throughout the waters of the world's oceans will clearly destabilize the strategic situation as a whole and increase the risk of armed conflict. The U.S. Navy command plans to have in service by the middle of the nineties some 4,000 Tomahawk SLCM's of various modifications: approximately 800 nuclear missiles (with a yield of 200-250 kilotons and a range of up to 2,600 km), almost 2,600 missiles with conventional warheads (single or multiple, with a range of up to 1,500 km), and 600 antiship missiles (with conventional warheads and a range of up to 600 km). It is planned to install these SLCM's on up to 200 multirole nuclear submarines and surface ships, a considerable number of which could be deployed off the shores of Western Europe, in the Atlantic, the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and the Mediterranean. Long-range SLCM's—in their nuclear configuration above all—launched from the said regions would render the territory of the Soviet Union accessible from all directions.

In principle, the United States does not deny the need to limit SLCM numbers, but in practice it has offered no proposals to solve the problem, citing the absence of an effective verification system in this sphere as the main problem. "We can see no possibility of distinguishing between nuclear and nonnuclear SLCM's," U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci said in an interview in Moscow, "or distinguishing them from nuclear devices on ships or any other nuclear weapons they may be carrying."

The Soviet Union holds a different view on this matter: The SLCM can be verified if the sides monitor every point on the route taken by the missile from leaving the manufacturing plant through to its siting aboard ship, including the point where it is fitted with a particular warhead. If the American side were to agree to carry out mutual inspections on first demand at any point on the SLCM's route the verification problem too could be successfully resolved. But the Pentagon has made it quite clear that "U.S. seamen will never allow Russian inspectors to wander around their ships."

The American side also considers unacceptable the Soviet proposal to conduct a joint experiment in remote [distantsionnyy] verification which envisages determining the presence of nuclear SLCM on warships with the aid of technical means. They say that their scientists have already studied this question and concluded that at present no joint experiment in this field would lead to sophisticated verification measures. The United States is opposed to the Soviet proposal to establish a ceiling of 1,000 long-range cruise missiles—either nuclear or conventional—to be deployed [razvertyvaniye] on an earlier defined number of agreed types of surface ships and submarines. It is not only trying to exempt its SLCM from strategic offensive weapons limitations—it also does not agree to limitations on nonnuclear missiles. What is more, it does not consider the SLCM a strategic weapon.

As we can see, the reluctance of the American side to seek solutions to the problem is obvious. It is also obvious that the long-range nuclear SLCM which the United States clearly wishes to exempt from limitations and verification measures represent a barrier which, if not overcome, will make it impossible to achieve a radical reduction in strategic offensive weapons. Can we really leave open another area of the arms race which offers a potential opportunity to circumvent a future treaty?

In our view, a political decision is needed at this stage. And the sooner Washington makes this decision, the sooner the delegations at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons resuming today will be able to draw up a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons.

As far as the Soviet delegation is concerned, it has studied the real possibilities for bringing the two sides' positions closer together and come to Geneva with clear instructions to complete the drawing up of a treaty as soon as possible.

NATO Retreat From Arms Cuts in Europe Viewed

LD1307180688 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 13 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

By all indications, the NATO leadership continues viewing conventional armaments as an inalienable component of its power politics and categorically objects to a balanced lowering of the level of military confrontation in Europe.

A communique issued by the headquarters of the North Atlantic bloc in Brussels says, specifically, that the Soviet Union's proposal for the withdrawal of Soviet aircraft from the areas of forward-basing in East Europe, if the United States does not deploy 72 F-16 fighter-bombers in Italy, does not suit NATO's fundamental demands for asymmetrical reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces.

So it follows from the communique that it is only unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty member countries that would suit the leaders of the NATO bloc. It is stated in the communique that asymmetrical reduction, above all in tanks and artillery, that is the armaments in which "the East has considerable numerical advantage", is the main priority of the alliance.

In their communique, the NATO leaders deemed it best not to go into essential details of the Soviet proposals on the reduction of conventional forces and armaments advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev in Warsaw, apparently for the reason that unlike NATO concepts of unilateral arms reductions, by countries of the socialist community only, the Soviet initiatives envisage the elimination of all imbalances and asymmetries between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

Even before the opening of the talks Moscow proposes to exchange the initial data on the numerical strength of troops and quantity of armaments of the two military alliances, to check this data thoroughly with the use of on-site inspections, to eliminate imbalances, that is reduce troops and armaments to the level of the side which has less armaments and troops, and then make reductions of forces from the equal level of both sides by 500 thousand.

Over the past years NATO has been constantly using the invented thesis about the "overwhelming superiority" of the Warsaw Treaty for the numerical strength of troops and conventional armaments in order to oppose any initiatives on disarmament. Let us first achieve parity in conventional armaments and forces, NATO officials were saying.

Now that the Soviet Union proposes to start the process of deep cuts in troops and armaments in Europe from the levelling out of the military might of the two alliances in every area, the NATO strategists brazenly beat a retreat.

Apparently, too many self-seeking interests are involved in the arms business, and, apparently, the stereotypes of the pre-nuclear age are too ingrained in the minds of NATO military and politicians.

U.S. Seismic Station 'Ready' in Tajikistan

LD1307211788 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Dushanbe July 13 TASS—The American seismic station set up in the outskirts of Garm, a settlement in the mountains of the Soviet Central Asian Republic of Tajikistan, is in full readiness for operation. The equipment was installed by Larry May, an engineer from the University of California, and other specialists from this educational centre.

"Our station will take part in the new Soviet-American experiment to verify nuclear explosions", Larry May told a TASS correspondent. "The designation of the station is to record all nuclear tests at the Soviet nuclear range in Semipalatinsk and also to determine the yield of the explosions. For this we have installed a set of seismographers in a shaft and lowered sensors into a hole to a depth of 110 metres. The signals that they will receive will be relayed to a computing complex".

The American specialist has no doubts about the success of the experiment despite the big distance from Semipalatinsk (1,400 kilometres) and the small yield of the nuclear charges that will be used. In his opinion the frequent earthquakes in Tajikistan (on the average about ten a day) will not affect the reception of seismic waves generated by nuclear explosions.

Larry May bases his optimism on the results of the first joint experiment in Karkaralinsk (Soviet Kazakhstan) in which he had taken part as project engineer. During that experiment American equipment recorded only explosions at the range in Nevada because the Soviet range in Semipalatinsk was silent as the Soviet Union was observing its unilateral moratorium on nuclear blasts.

In the course of the current, bigger experiment another four American seismic stations will be set up in various parts of the USSR in addition to the one that is already ready for action in Tajikistan. Meantime five Soviet seismic stations are being set up on the territory of the United States. All these stations are to make their first recordings late in August and early in September this year when two mighty calibrating blasts will be set off in different parts of the globe and signal the commencement of the experiment.

Warsaw Pact-NATO Consultations Held in Vienna

LD1107102888 Moscow TASS in English 0959 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Vienna July 11 TASS—A regular meeting was held here today within the framework of consultations of representatives of members countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO on working out a mandate of future talks on the reduction of the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Security Council To Meet on Airliner Downing

LD1407061088 Moscow TASS in English 0606 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 14 TASS—Today the U.N. Security Council will hold here a meeting which will examine the downing of the Iranian jetliner by the U.S. Navy. Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati arrived for the meeting which is called at Iran's request. It is expected that U.S. Vice President George Bush will offer explanations for the actions of the U.S. Navy in the Persian Gulf.

Kashlev on 'Pan-European Forums,' Cooperation

LD1307135488 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Vienna July 13 TASS—The Vienna followup meeting of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) has discussed a package of pan-European forums to be convened as part of the CSCE process in the next few years.

The draft final document of the meeting, which has been submitted by the delegations of neutral countries, provides for more than ten such conferences on military and political, trade and economic, ecological and humanitarian issues.

A whole number of countries would like to host them. The delegations of the USSR and other socialist nations have come out in support of these forums which should give a boost to the CSCE process.

The leader of the Soviet delegation, Yuriy Kashlev, called for talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals to open and for the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe to be resumed as early as this year as part of the package of the forums, which the USSR readily supports.

The Soviet delegate also reiterated his country's readiness to host a representative pan-European conference in Moscow for promoting humanitarian cooperation.

Speakers noted that a number of NATO countries are avoiding formalizing a specific list of forums, venues and time-frames.

Moreover, the U.S. delegation is effectively opposed to such meetings as a pan-European conference of leading scientists from CSCE countries and a symposium on the cultural heritage of Europe. This attitude has left most delegations disappointed.

Gusev Confers With FRG, U.S. Industrialists

PM1207153788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 8 July V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received E. Pieper, chairman of the Salzgitter firm (FRG) supervisory council.

They discussed questions of developing cooperation in the chemical industry sphere, notably the creation of a joint enterprise in Western Siberia by the USSR Ministry of the Production of Mineral Fertilizers and the firm, and the modernization of Soviet plants producing polyethylene.

On the same day V.K. Guzev received W.P. Schmoe, first vice-president of the Dupont firm (United States).

Questions of cooperation in the sphere of the chemical industry were discussed at the meeting.

UN Environmental Conference Closes 10 Jul

LD1007212588 Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] Oslo July 10 TASS—TASS correspondent Stanislav Tikhomirov reports:

Coordination of efforts of all states in tackling global problems of our times is the main theme of a two-day U.N. conference which ended in the Norwegian capital today. It was attended, at the invitation of Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, by U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, and top executives of 25 U.N. specialized agencies. The forum examined possibilities and concrete steps for realising proposals set out in a report by the U.N. Commission on the Environment and Development, a document which was a result of many-years work by specialists of many countries led by Brundtland.

The final communique adopted by conference participants points out that the removal of the threat of a nuclear war, protection of the environment and ensurance of equal and stable economic, political and social development of all countries are the main problems of our times facing the international community. Their solution can be achieved only by joint efforts based on political partnership of states and governments, their broad and constructive dialogue.

Speaking at a dinner in honour of forum participants, the Norwegian prime minister pointed to a depressing fact that in the recent past the UNO's role in tackling international problems had decreased noticeably. Some countries, she noted, preferred to channel their efforts at achieving short-term benefits, limited to one region or one state, to the detriment of general well-being and progress aimed at a long-term perspective. At the same time she characterized the conference as historic and unique. Its holding is of ever-lasting political importance and shows that the common goal of the U.N. entire system lies in a search for joint real solutions of problems facing mankind on the threshold of the 21st century.

United States & Canada

Greece To End Military Bases Treaty With U.S.

LD1307203788 Moscow TASS in English 2031 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Athens July 13 TASS—The Foreign Ministry of Greece has notified the U.S. Embassy in Athens that the Greek Government has decided to discontinue the operation of the 1983 treaty between Greece and the United States on cooperation between the two countries in the fields of economy and defence. This was announced here today by an official government spokesman. The spokesman said that in accordance with the written notification, the above treaty becomes null and void on December 31, 1988.

U.S. military bases are in Greek territory on the basis of the treaty.

'Cold-Blooded Murder' of Airbus Victims Noted

PM1207105188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[Observer Vasiliy Pustov Military-Political Review: "What the Crime in the Gulf Has Illumined"]

[Text] The destruction of the Iranian civilian airliner on 3 July in the Persian Gulf by the U.S. cruiser "Vincennes" remains the focus of attention of the world public and mass media. And that is no accident. The eruption of flame from the exploding U.S. missile illumined not only the cold-blooded murder of hundreds of totally innocent passengers, including women and children. For many foreign observers, this was of itself sufficient grounds for calling this tragedy "the crime of the century." The eruption of flame shed additional light on various facets of the U.S. military's pernicious and extremely dangerous conduct in the international arena, facets which are related to questions of morality, military strategy and policy, and technology.

And so let's begin with morality or, to be more precise, its most flagrant flouting. The French newspaper L'HUMANITE rightly notes that only one thing could be more repellant than the crime committed in the Persian Gulf: the attempts to justify it. It is toward this end that the efforts of the U.S. Administration and the entire enormous U.S. propaganda apparatus are now aimed. They are trying there to belittle the importance of the piratical action, to present it as merely a tragic accident and even simply "an unfortunate incident." At the same time, some "right to self-defense" is being used to justify the irresponsible conduct of the command of the cruiser which shot down the Iranian airbus and the U.S. military presence as a whole in the Persian Gulf and far beyond, which is being subjected to sharp criticism.

The victims of the tragedy are now being buried in Iran. The speeches from Washington contain not only hypocritical condolences for what has happened but also notes of hurrah-patriotic arrogance. Thus, Vice President G. Bush, known as a resolute supporter of the buildup of the U.S. Navy and the expansion of U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf, approves the criminal actions of the cruiser's commander, since the latter allegedly "did not want to subject to great danger his heroic boys—the best young sailors our naval forces have ever had." According to an ABC television report, the White House incumbent himself, rejecting the statements of the Iranian side, which is the victim, snapped out: I don't care what Iran thinks.

But indignation and protests throughout the world are growing, and the U.S. Administration itself cannot fail to take account of this, although its head has declared "the matter closed." In attempts to emerge unscathed, stories that are not without contradictions are being put into play. The Pentagon first claimed that the Iranian aircraft was 4-5 miles off course and was coming dangerously close to the cruiser, which could resemble preparation for an attack. In their propagandist ardor, the officials are sometimes reaching the point of absurdity. "In the government," CBS television's Pentagon correspondent D. Martin reports, "there is an assumption that it was something like a kamikaze attack." Obviously understanding the full absurdity of this fabrication, the correspondent immediately stipulates that "no one intends to voice this idea publicly because it is simply very difficult to believe."

Yes, we have here a case of which it is said: The story is a fresh one, but it is hard to believe. Nonetheless, as we can see, Washington has sought an opportunity to make this absurdity public—people will believe anything, they say.

But how did it all happen in reality? Tehran has stated officially that the A-300 airliner on regular flight No 655 was flying precisely within the international air corridor, and there was nothing suspicious in its flight. This is confirmed by the fact that the continuing search for the victims of the tragedy (over 100 bodies have already been recovered) is being conducted in an area which is in fact underneath the air corridor. All this is so obvious that the transatlantic dealers in big lies have succeeded in calling on the aid of far from all of their NATO allies to impart weight to these lies. "Italy," West Germany's ARD television reported, "has denied an assertion from Washington which, citing Italian Navy data, claimed that the Iranian aircraft was beyond the established air corridor." Rome has stated that the Italian ships were a long way off and could not know precisely the whereabouts of the Iranian aircraft which was shot down.

Indeed, in the United States itself, sober voices are to be heard assessing what has happened more or less objectively. The worth of the far-fetched official versions of the tragedy can be seen from the reports of ABC television's Pentagon reporter R. Zelnick. Naval spokesmen, he said, have admitted that the "Vincennes"' commander, W. Rogers, ordered that a check be made as to whether it was a civilian aircraft approaching the cruiser, but the missiles were launched before the check was completed.

Ultimately the Pentagon, albeit almost a week after the tragedy, had to admit that the Iranian airbus was within the space corridor intended for commercial airlines.

Among the U.S. allies, there were not that many who ventured to express full solidarity with the United States at the official level. British Prime Minister M. Thatcher acted in the role of advocate. Her statement that the United States "has the right to self-defense" not only generated indignation among the Labour opposition. In the opinion of a number of London newspapers, M. Thatcher was thus making it clear that the nine British warships in the Persian Gulf also have the same "right" and that they are being given the "go-ahead" for actions similar to those of the U.S. cruiser. Let us recall in this connection that about 30 ships of the United States' NATO allies are concentrated in the Gulf, thus making their contribution to the aggravation of the situation in the region. That is why NATO propaganda as a whole is depicting the barbaric destruction of the Iranian aircraft not as a natural result of the buildup of the Western, and particularly U.S. military presence in the region, but merely as "a regrettable incident."

Japan's official stance is also notable in this respect. "Takeshita's government," NHK television has reported, "has declined to denounce or vindicate U.S. Navy actions in the Persian Gulf, primarily because of its ally relations with Washington." It is something else which particularly perturbs official Tokyo—why did the modern "Aegis" electronic air defense system, with which the cruiser "Vincennes" was equipped and which Japan intends to purchase for its own armed forces, prove ineffective? If this extremely expensive system cannot distinguish a passenger airbus from a supersonic fighter, then, NHK reports, its planned purchase will give rise to keen debates in Japanese parliament.

In the United States a similar question is being asked about the inefficiency of the vaunted "Aegis" system, but with the specification that the cruiser equipped with it has cost the treasury a billion dollars. What is striking here, however, is the concern for the lost dollars and not for the human lives sacrificed to the militarist Moloch. Especially since, as is now becoming clear to many people, human casualties could indeed run into billions, given errors in the even more complex equipment which would service the "Star Wars" planned by the U.S. Administration.

This is a very serious warning for the future. But even in our time, the risk created by the United States' global strategy, by its desire to play the role of a self-styled international "master of ceremonies," and by acts of terrorism like the one committed last Sunday in the Persian Gulf is too great. "This incident," Senator D. Bumpers stated, "could have been predicted, and if our policy remains as before, we will witness other similar incidents. The magnitude of this tragedy demands that we review this policy." But the direct opposite is to be heard in the administration: "Do not expect any changes in U.S. policy."

And that means that Washington intends to preserve the groupings of its Armed Forces of over 0.5 million men scattered throughout the planet and based at nearly 1,600 military bases and establishments in over 30 countries. That means that as before during regional conflicts, whether in Asia, Africa, or Latin America, U.S. military and other aid will be rendered to antipopular reactionary regimes and insurgent forces. That means that with the United States' continuing military presence in the Persian Gulf and with its pursuit of the long since compromised strong-arm policy, the explosive situation fraught with the danger of the most unforeseen consequences and threatening the interests of the countries of the Persian Gulf and of other regions will be retained and aggravated.

The world today is characterized by the shaping of new national formations and the growth of the role played in world affairs by billions of people who had formerly remained outside these affairs. These people are opposed to an alien way of life and an alien social system being imposed on them from outside, by military or any other means. The regional conflicts persisting in the world to this day are evidence that the peoples, defending the freedom of their own choice, resolutely reject the policy of force in all its manifestations.

Proceeding from this and guided by the new political thinking, the Soviet Union suggests that the international community set the task of eliminating alien military presence and military bases on foreign territory by the year 2000. The United Nations could be enlisted to monitoring the withdrawal of troops from foreign territories. Thus, where the presence of troops is, nevertheless, essential to maintaining peace, as now in the Persian Gulf, they should be represented by the United Nations. It has also been proposed that there should be a full study of the problem of reducing naval armaments and limiting naval activity. This is all the more important in that, as THE WASHINGTON POST notes, "both in Washington and abroad the present (U.S.) naval practice and strategy are viewed as a threat to international peace."

But it was, above all, from the United States that these proposals failed to meet with support. At the recent UN General Assembly special session on disarmament, the United States showed that it places its own narrow selfish interests above the interests of the international community. The tragedy of flight No 655 is the inevitable consequence of this policy.

U.S. Administration Defends Gulf Policy
LD1107132188 Moscow TASS in English 1250 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 11 TASS—The U.S. Administration has no plans of changing its policy of military interference in the Persian Gulf, which resulted in the destruction of an Iranian passenger airliner by the U.S. Cruiser Vincennes and the death of 298 people on board.

CBS television network quoted US Undersecretary for Political Affairs Michael Armacost as saying that the United States was protecting its interests in the Gulf fairly well. U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Vernon Walters said on ABC that during the forthcoming discussion of the accident with the Iran airliner he intended to defend the circumstances in which it had occurred.

"How well has the strategy worked?" queries the magazine U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT. As a result of its implementation, the weekly writes, there had been moments of humiliation—the Iraqi attack on the Stark which left 37 sailors killed and mine damage to the reflagged tanker in the first American escorted convoy. Besides, Iran's attacks on shipping in the Gulf had more than doubled and Iraq's attacks had continued at a steady pace, the weekly writes.

Iran's acting permanent representative at the United Nations Mohammad Ja'far Mahallati said in a CBS interview that American vessels deprived civilian aircraft in the Gulf of the guarantees of security. He described the American military presence as a new factor of tension in the Persian Gulf. Mahalati stressed the need to withdraw American forces which were the cause of many tragedies in the region.

Implications of Dukakis-Bentsen Ticket Reported
PM1407105188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch: "United States. On the Eve of the Democratic Convention"]

[Excerpt] Washington—[Passage omitted] Speaking on Tuesday at a pre-election rally in Boston, M. Dukakis introduced Senator L. Bentsen from Texas to those assembled and announced that he would ask the convention to approve him as candidate for the post of U.S. vice-president.

U.S. observers point out that the Dukakis-Bentsen election ticket is a team of millionaires. Sixty-seven-year old L. Bentsen comes from the family of a rich Texas landowner and managed to increase his fortune in the insurance business. Bentsen is an experienced politician with a good knowledge of Washington political intrigue; he was a member of the U.S. Congress House of Representatives and then in 1970 was elected to the Senate, beating G. Bush—the incumbent U.S. vice-president and Republican presidential contender—in the election. Bentsen heads the Senate Finance Committee.

The "Boston-Austin axis"—that is how Bentsen described his partnership with Dukakis—may, according to their calculations, bring them victory like the alliance concluded 28 years ago between J. Kennedy and L. Johnson, also from Austin. Dukakis can guarantee success in northeast America and Bentsen—unless he is defeated—can seriously weaken Bush's position in the south.

The U.S. press notes that Dukakis' decision may complicate the course of the Democratic Convention in Atlanta. Prominent Democratic Party figure J. Jackson, who is in second place after Dukakis in terms of the number of convention delegates supporting him, has stressed repeatedly recently that he has earned the right to be nominated for the vice-presidency. Speaking in Washington, after Dukakis' choice of Bentsen's candidacy became known, he stated that the convention must take into consideration the will of the 7 million Americans who voted for him. At the same time, Jackson said that he would support the convention's final decision, whatever it is. Jackson's speeches indicate that he intends to use the convention rostrum to defend the interests of those electors who voted for him.

Reagan To Help Bush During Election Campaign
LD0807063988 Moscow TASS in English 0600 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 8 TASS—There was a meeting between Ronald Reagan and Vice President George Bush. The administration's spokesman said after its end that Reagan intended to help elect Vice President Bush to the post of the next president and would speak during election events of Republicans initially as his schedule of work permits and then, since October, at least two days a week.

A small special group led by Kenneth Duberstein, chief of the White House staff, was set up to coordinate Reagan's plans with the plans of the headquarters of the Bush election campaign.

China

PRC Congratulations to Kuomintang Chief Noted
PM1407084588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS reports under the general heading "New Chairman of Kuomintang"]

[Text] Tokyo, 8 Jul—The 13th Congress of the Kuomintang, which opened today in Taipei (Taiwan), has chosen Li Teng-hui, the head of the Taiwanese administration, to be party chairman, KYODO reports. He has been head of the Taiwanese Administration since January of this year, following the death of Chiang Ching-kuo, who was also leader of the Kuomintang.

Beijing, 8 Jul—Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, today sent congratulations to Li Teng-hui in connection with his election as chairman of the Kuomintang, XINHUA reports. The message also expresses the hope that the two parties "together with their peoples will make joint efforts to speedily implement the great cause of Chinese reunification."

Zhao's Interview on French Television Noted

LD1007094788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2028 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Beijing, 9 Jul (TASS)—"I have not devoted enough study to Soviet restructuring, but on the whole I give it a positive assessment and wish it success," Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, stated in an interview for French Television. An account of the interview was transmitted on Saturday by the XINHUA news agency.

It seems to me, Zhao Ziyang said, that restructuring in China is similar to that in the Soviet Union in many areas, although concrete plans differ. Chinese and Soviet practices cannot be identical because our conditions are different. Therefore, in the course of restructuring socialist countries can take account of each other's experience, but not copy mechanically each other's practice. "We do not imitate blindly the Soviet Union and do not want the Soviet Union to imitate us," Zhao Ziyang said, adding that "consideration of each other's experience will be useful."

In his interview, the general secretary of the CPC Central Committee dwelt on the prospects for a meeting of the Chinese and Soviet leaders, tying it into the Cambodian problem.

According to him, regardless of the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, China will stand by its own, independent foreign policy, staying with the immutable position of "nonentry into an alliance with any superpower or bloc of major countries."

The general secretary of the CPC Central Committee also touched on problems in the development of China's foreign economic ties, opportunities for the economic development of various regions of the country, social issues, and matters concerning nationalities. He spoke about the separation of party and administrative functions being carried out in China. The leading role of the party, the Chinese leader noted, must be expressed principally in political leadership and the elaboration of the most important political directives. Zhao Ziyang also spoke on matters of the development of intraparty and socialist democracy.

Publications Trading Contributes to Friendship

OW1307163588 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, the good-neighborly contacts between the USSR and China have continued to expand with each passing day. Such contacts have involved all sectors of the people's livelihood, including culture. The following is an item by our station observer on Soviet-Chinese trading in publications:

For a long time, our two countries have shown increasing interest in each other's publications. For example, China has shown particular interest in Soviet publications on science and technology, handbooks, reference materials for learning the Russian language, and dictionaries. Chinese readers have also cherished literary works published in the Soviet Union, hoping to increase their understanding of the life and problems in that country. Many people who study Russian buy classic works in Russian and contemporary works by Soviet writers.

The Soviet Union also needs publications from China, as the Soviet people also show special interest in China's major issues. Many Soviet people cherish contemporary literary and classic works in China. Soviet Sinologists are regarded as the world's best. [passage omitted]

(Saboronikov), manager of the All-Soviet Publications Company, has said: Soviet-Chinese trading in publications has greatly expanded, and figures can verify this fact. Our book stores imported 350 varieties of publications from China in 1985. We offered some 1,500 varieties of publications to our Soviet readers in 1987. We are offering even more variety this year. Many readers from Moscow, the Ukraine, and other parts of our country's Far East show interest in Chinese publications. Bookstores selling Chinese publications receive every month many orders for Chinese publications from readers in all parts of the country. From now on, we will offer more Chinese publications to the Soviet readers and those who show great interest in life in China. In the meantime, I also realize that China has an increasing need for Soviet publications.

Northeast Asia

Official Views Problems in Relations With Japan

OW1207104088 Tokyo KYODO in English 1009 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Tokyo, July 12 KYODO—A high-ranking Soviet official blasted Japan here Monday for anti-Soviet attitudes that swing from "overreactive" to "nonchalant."

Ivan Kovalenko, deputy head of the Soviet Communist Party's International Affairs Department, said in an exclusive interview with KYODO news service that Soviet-Japan relations remain at the same low level.

At the same time, he said, the Soviet Union has been successfully expanding its friendly relations worldwide since instituting Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of "perestroyka" and "glasnost."

"There has been no recent improvement in Soviet-Japan relations," he concluded, noting irony in the fact that Soviet relations with the United States and the European Community have "improved immensely."

Relations with China and members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) are also gradually improving, he said.

Kovalenko, an expert on Japan who speaks fluent Japanese, said that the Soviets have tried unsuccessfully in the past to win Japan over, but likened the process to a love-struck suitor courting a disinterested girl.

"It has to come from both sides," he said. He said there have been some low-level exchanges but no "fundamentally meaningful improvements."

Kovalenko, currently on a nine-day visit to Japan through July 19 as head of a four-member mission, also charged that Japan has not demonstrated any intention to become "a serious trading partner."

He said the Soviets would like to double or even triple their trade volume with Japan. "Japan has things we want, and the Soviet Union is not so poor that it has nothing to provide to Japan," he said.

Referring to the storm of controversy surrounding Toshiba Machinery Co.'s illegal sale of sophisticated militarily applicable milling equipment to the Soviet Union, he criticized the way in which "Japan made such a big deal of the sale."

He denied the equipment was essential. "If that's the way it's going to be, go ahead, take them away, we don't need them, we can make better ones ourselves," he said.

Focusing on rising Japanese expenditures on its military forces, Kovalenko said: "While the Soviet Union is embarking on a path of demilitarization, Japan, however, is still making efforts to increase its military might."

Questioned about the so-called "northern territories" issue, a major thorn in Japan-Soviet relations, Kovalenko said that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze reiterated the Soviet stance that an issue over the Soviet-held islands near Hokkaido "does not exist," when he met with Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Takakazu Kuriyama in Moscow last month.

Kovalenko also said Japanese fears of the Soviet military presence on the islands of Kunashiri and Etorofu of Hokkaido are groundless.

"There is only a single military division in that long, long Kurile Archipelago," he said. Japan denies the occupied islands belong to the chain.

"Japan gets so worked up over such an insignificant disposition of troops," he said.

He said the Japanese preoccupation with the matter prevents them from viewing the "great panorama" of possibilities between Japan and the Soviet Union.

He said that even when the Soviet Government makes a move that merits praise from Japan, the Japanese Government feigns ignorance and no encouraging words are forthcoming.

He said that the relevance of perestroyka has gained worldwide recognition, however Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita has only so far remarked to the effect that "things haven't really changed."

On the possibility of a Gorbachev visit to Japan, Kovalenko said Shevardnadze and Kuriyama discussed the matter when they met in Moscow late last month.

"Sooner or later it will be realized," Kovalenko said, adding that the timing depends on "how well (Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke) Uno and Shevardnadze prepare the way for it."

Kuriyama and Shevardnadze agreed that Uno should meet with Shevardnadze in New York in September, when they will both be attending a session of the United Nations General Assembly, he said.

Gorbachev reportedly told Japan Socialist Party leader Takako Doi during her visit to Moscow in early May that he would not make a purely symbolic Japan visit and that there would have to be a concrete agenda.

As to whether or not Shevardnadze will visit Japan, "that depends on how the talks (with Uno) go," Kovalenko said. He said Shevardnadze is a busy diplomat, but realizes that "it is his turn to visit Japan."

ROK Reportedly To Accept DPRK Name

LD1207130288 Moscow TASS in English 1120 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Tokyo July 12 TASS—The Government of South Korea has decided to call North Korea officially at international conferences and meetings henceforth the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The newspaper ASAHI reported from Seoul that it has also been decided to discontinue the practice whereby representatives of South Korea leave international conferences and meetings during the playing of the national anthem or the raising of the national flag of the DPRK.

Besides, it has been decided to invite the latter's representatives to events sponsored by South Korea and to send South Korean representatives to events in the DPRK.

The Seoul correspondent of the newspaper YOMIURI reported, quoting the newspaper CHUNGANG ILBO, the South Korean Administration's decision to stop from July 19 broadcasts of criticisms on the programs of the South Korean Broadcasting Corporation and on the programs aired by the loudspeaker on the demarcation line.

Denies Policy Change

LD1207131588 Moscow TASS in English 1219 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Tokyo July 12 TASS—The South Korean Government is not going, at least for the time being, to call North Korea officially the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, an official spokesman for South Korea's Foreign Ministry said in Seoul today.

He thereby denied a report appearing in Hangook ILBO, one of the leading Seoul newspapers, KYODO news service said.

"We do not consider at this stage the issue of using the official name of North Korea at international conferences and in other situations," the spokesman said.

At the same time he confirmed the intention of the Seoul administration to support contacts between politicians from the north and south of Korea in keeping with proposals for normalizing the situation on the Korean peninsula, which were made on July 7 by South Korean President Ho Tae-u.

Official Views USSR-DPRK Treaty Anniversary

SK1207035288 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Dear listeners: As has already been mentioned in today's broadcast, a commemorative gathering was held at the External Friendship Hall in Moscow on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the conclusion of the Soviet-Korean Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance.

In this hour, I will epitomize the speech of Comrade (?Yuriy Kashlev), vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Soviet-Korean Friendship Society and (?deputy director) of the Asian Socialist Countries Department of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was delivered at the gathering.

Comrade (?Yuriy Kashlev) said: The Soviet-Korean treaty was concluded on 6 July 1961 in a way that it would be extended every 5 years (?after the first 10-year period).

According to the DPRK Government's statement in the course of the conclusion of the treaty, the treaty will become invalid if Korea is reunified. Although it may sound strange to some extent, I would like to say that I hope the treaty will become invalid through the reunification of Korea. However, the treaty still stands, and continues to remain as an important document linking our two countries and as a legal foundation of the relations in various areas.

For example, we can first consider the political area. In this area, our country and the DPRK continue to hold (?frequent) contacts. Above all, we can note the meetings between the leaders of our two countries. The last meeting was in October 1986. We can also note the exchange of letters between high-ranking leaders, regular meetings between the foreign ministers, and mutual visits between high-ranking leaders and high-level delegations. All these things show that the USSR-DPRK political relations have become even more diverse and extensive.

In the relations between the two countries, the level of mutual (?credibility) and openness has been enhanced. With regard to this, I would like to note that the stands of our two sides are the same over almost all international issues except for the Cambodian issue. As for the basic issues of the present era, such as disarmament and the establishment of a nuclear-free zone, we have the same stand.

We thank the Korean friends for their support for the Soviet stand. At the same time, in the international community, we encourage and support Korean comrades (?to all possible extent) for a discussion of the DPRK stand in the just struggle for the reunification of the fatherland and the relaxation of tension on the Korean peninsula.

As for our cooperation, let us also take examples in the economic area. In this regard, we have made particularly great progress. In the various production areas of our two countries, progress is successfully made in contacts. Following the conclusion of the treaty, the scientific and technological consultative council has been formed between the Soviet and Korean Governments. We also have established other joint bodies which regulate our relations in the (?economic area). For instance, there are committees for the work of Korean workers in the fisheries and shipbuilding. All these things are favorable for both sides.

Some time ago, along with the (?minister of light industry), I visited the People's Korea. During this visit, we toured textile and (?leather) plants and found that there is great potential for our cooperation in this area. In the future, we will continue to seek the potential of cooperation for efficient utilization.

Hundreds of Soviet technicians are working in the DPRK and are helping to develop the people's economy, build plants, and utilize their capacities.

The huge industrial plants such as the Hungnam Chemical Fertilizer Plant, the Chongjin (?iron mill), the Pyongyang Textile Plant, and the Pukchang Thermal Power Plant are the symbol of cooperation.

The cooperation has so far been unilateral. But today the Korean comrades are offering technical assistance to us. They have enhanced their potential to a such degree that they can build residential houses and establish such huge facilities as general agricultural systems, irrigation systems, and social and cultural service networks in the far east of our country. They have also established a powerful construction industry.

As the 27th anniversary of the conclusion of the treaty is celebrated, I think it is no mistake to say that the treaty has displayed its vitality and showed that it has become even more urgent to (?strengthening) the relations of friendship and reciprocal cooperation between our two countries and guaranteeing peace and security in Korea.

Machine Tool Building Ties

PM0707160588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Razuvayev dispatch: "Good Partners"]

[Excerpts] Pyongyang, Jul—Today, 6 July, marks the 37th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid Between the Soviet Union and the DPRK. Imbued with the ideals of socialist internationalism, this document opened a new page in the annals of our peoples' fraternal ties. Their friendship is deep rooted. It developed and grew stronger in the difficult war years and was reinforced by blood shed in the joint struggle for freedom, progress, and working people's happiness.

The Soviet-Korean treaty laid the foundation for the expansion and deepening of friendly ties between the two countries and peoples, the boosting of their economic systems and culture, and the maintenance of peace in the Far East.

This article is about the collective at the Hihung Machine Tool Building Association, which was one of the first in People's Korea to organize production sharing and direct ties with similar enterprises in our country.

The finishing shop is probably one of the biggest at the Hihung plant—the chief enterprise at the machine tool building association of the same name. From the roof gallery one can see for oneself the results of the work of the thousands-strong collective of machine tool builders. Red lathes, mills, and other machine tools gleaming with nickel are sent here from the assembly shops. As Pak Che-pong, the association's chief technologist, explained, there are more than 20 types and modifications. [passage omitted]

"We see tremendous prospects for developing Korean machine building in cooperation with our Soviet colleagues, who are today leading us to qualitatively new standards," Pak Che-pong continued. "We are not only meeting the orders for deliveries of large consignments of machine tools to your country. An active search is under way for new forms of cooperation. Production sharing and scientific, technical, and direct ties are being established between us...."

Indeed, the Hihung Machine Tool Building Association now plays a considerable role in economic cooperation between the two countries. In particular, Pak Che-pong recalls that at the end of last year an agreement was signed between the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry and the DPRK Ministry of the Machine Building Industry on the creation on the Republic's territory of a combined Korean-Soviet society producing milling machines. It is planned to produce 5,000 units per year. Our Korean friends took this idea very seriously. Construction work began in Hihung to create the new production capacities immediately after the agreement was signed.

I accompanied Comrade Pak to a construction site located near the plant's underground shops, where until recently there had only been wasteland. The work is being done by a construction trust collective whose chief engineer is Pak Hong-kil. He told us that construction work begin last October and since then has proceeded at shock rates. This is also proved by the fact that construction of the joint venture's main production building, which is more than 40,000 square meters in area, has largely been completed. It is now impatiently awaiting equipment, which is to be supplied by the Soviet partner—the Gorkiy Machine Tool Building Association. Its specialists will also provide technical documentation and assistance in retraining Korean engineers and technicians.

Last December V.P. Kabaidze, general director of the Ivanovo Machine Tool Building Association, visited Hihung. He familiarized himself with the plant and its potential and came to the conclusion that the Hihung people were worthy partners. As a result agreement was reached on the creation of an international "Hihung-Ivanovo" association for the joint production of processing centers and programmable machine tools.

"Of course, cooperation in such forms with similar Soviet enterprises is new to us," Pak Che-pong said. "We have no relevant experience or knowledge of conducting joint affairs. But, comprehensively weighing up all the pros and cons, we came to the conclusion that it could benefit both sides. Soviet machine tool builders' experience is very valuable for us. And our contribution is weighty too: We are erecting production buildings and providing the workforce and the necessary raw and other materials. And the machine tools which we will jointly produce will help to more fully satisfy both sides' demand for them and will be exported to other countries." [passage omitted]

Kim Il-song Visits Maritime Kray, Cables Leaders

PM1207114188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Stop Over on Way Home"]

[Text] Vladivostok, 6 Jul—Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee and president of the DPRK, stopped over in the Maritime Kray on his way home from Mongolia. At the Soviet-Korean Friendship Center he met with the kray's party and soviet leaders.

The guest left for home today.

Kim Il-song sent M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, a telegram. It says:

"On passing through Soviet territory again on my way home after visiting Mongolia, I send fraternal greetings to you and through you to the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers.

"Once again I express profound gratitude to the Soviet comrades for the cordial reception and the attention we received during our passage through your country's territory. I am sure that fraternal relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples will continue constantly to expand and strengthen.

"Wholeheartedly I wish you and the Soviet people even greater successes in the struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, for the further development of Soviet society, and for the country's prosperity."

Yazov Greets Mongolia's Yondon on National Day

PM1307152788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 12 Jul 88 First Edition p1

[National Day message from Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister, to Mongolian counterpart]

[Text] To Colonel General Comrade Jamsrangiyn Yondon, Minister of Defense of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and from myself personally I send you and all Mongolian servicemen fraternal greetings and cordial congratulations on your national day—the 67th anniversary of the Mongolian people's revolution.

The 1921 popular revolution has played a prominent role in Mongolia's historical destiny and opened the way to a brilliant future for the country. The Mongolian people are now working successfully to fulfill the tasks set by the 19th MPRP Congress to ensure the further development of the country's economy and culture and improve the people's material wellbeing.

On this momentous day I wish Mongolian People's Army personnel new successes in their combat and political training and in the task of further strengthening the defense capability of their socialist motherland.

With communist greetings,

Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Philippine Congressmen Visit Supreme Soviet

PM1307073588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Parliamentarians' Stay"]

[Text] A delegation from the Philippine Congress headed by O. Mercado, leader of the Senate majority and chairman of the Commission on Questions of Procedure, visited the USSR Supreme Soviet on 7 July. The guests were welcomed by Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union, and A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities.

The members of the delegation were briefed on the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which gave a powerful boost to the innovative processes for the country's socioeconomic renewal.

The sides agreed that definite progress has emerged in relations between the two countries and their political dialogue has expanded. The Soviet Union stressed its readiness to galvanize bilateral ties on the principles of equality, noninterference, and mutual advantage. The USSR advocates the broadening of contacts between our countries' representatives at various levels.

The interlocutors advocated the deepening of regular interparliamentary exchanges. They were united in the idea that parliamentarians, as representatives of their peoples, can do a great deal to develop interstate relations. It was noted that opportunities are present for the implementation of this important process.

USSR Supreme Soviet deputies I.D. Laptev, N.I. Maslennikov, Ye.I. Perventsev, and L.P. Shurygin; other officials; O.M. Sokolov, USSR ambassador to the Philippines; and A. Melchor, Philippine ambassador to the USSR took part in the conversation.

On the same day the delegation had a conversation at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade. The status of and prospects for the development of Soviet-Philippine trade and economic relations were discussed.

Mokanu Receives Laurel

LD1207214288 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—The Soviet Union and the Philippines are interested in broadening their relations on principles of equality and equal benefit, Aleksandr Mokanu, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Salvador Laurel, vice president of the Philippines, stated in a friendly conversation here today.

The Philippine official arrived in Moscow yesterday.

The visitor was informed about the results of the 19th nationwide conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the course of restructuring in all spheres of Soviet society's life and the activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the local soviets of people's deputies.

The Philippine vice president said that profound changes in the life of the Soviet Union evoked broad response in the international community and public opinion in the Philippines.

"In order to resolve our domestic problems, to eradicate, above all, poverty and unemployment, we need our own perestroyka," he said.

The sides stressed the importance of the further development of Soviet-Philippine contacts with a view to strengthening universal security in the Asia-Pacific region and throughout the world.

They expressed their striving towards the vigorous establishment of diverse trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation in the region that would be open for all.

Vorontsov, Laurel Meet

LD1207202488 Moscow TASS in English 1914 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuli Vorontsov met here today with Vice-President of the Republic of the Philippines Salvador Laurel at the latter's request. The Philippine vice-president is staying in the Soviet Union on a private visit.

A number of international problems of mutual interest were discussed. Special attention was given to the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, to questions of improving the situation and establishing equal and mutually advantageous cooperation in that vast region.

When Soviet-Philippine relations were discussed, the interlocutors declared in favour of their further development to the benefit of the peoples of both countries, in the interests of world peace.

Congress Leader Mercado Leaves

LD1307210988 Moscow TASS in English 1210 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 13 TASS—A delegation from the Philippine Congress headed by Senate Majority Leader Orlando Mercado, chairman of the Procedures Commission, left the Soviet Union today after an official visit at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the USSR.

Kamentsev Assesses Talks in Singapore

LD1307210488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] The visit of the Soviet delegation led by Comrade Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Foreign Economic Commission, to Australia, Malaysia, and Singapore has ended. Our Southeast Asia correspondent Viktor Konnov reports:

[Konnov] During the talks in Australia and Malaysia, there was discussion about the restructuring of relations in the Asian-Pacific region and the development of the USSR's political and commercial-economic relations with states of the region.

In Singapore the Soviet delegation was acquainted with the activity of the local branch of Moscow's Narodny Bank and visited two mixed Soviet-Singapore companies—Sinsov, which services Soviet ships, and Marissco, which produces marine products. Talks were held between Soviet delegation chief Comrade Kamentsev and Singapore Foreign and National Development Minister Dhanabalan. During the talks the sides discussed the state of and prospects for the development of bilateral relations. They exchanged opinions on a number of regional and international problems.

After the talks Comrade Kamentsev granted an interview to Soviet radio.

[Begin recording] [Konnov] Vladimir Mikhaylovich, how do you assess the prospects for Soviet-Singapore relations at the current stage?

[Kamentsev] I assess the prospects very positively because what we have started here, not only trade but also new forms of cooperation, makes it possible to expand considerably. Even today forms new for us and for them are emerging. Marissco is preparing to open a big trade center in Moscow. It will be a joint enterprise on USSR territory. There is a board to open a joint enterprise for repairing our ships here in Singapore. Our comrades at the Moscow Narodny Bank branch have many ideas for financial services. They are very interested in building a hotel in our country. It will be a joint enterprise. I think it will bring people together, people getting to know each other, in all forms, economic, cultural and humanitarian, and politically. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Soviet Envoy on PRC Arms Stockpile, Cambodia

BK1207044988 Bangkok THE NATION in English 12 Jul 88 p 4

[Text] Soviet Ambassador Anatoliy Valkov yesterday said that once the Kampuchean problem is settled, there will be no need for a Chinese weapons stockpile in Thailand.

"It is better to provide guarantees for the security of all countries in the region," Valkov said.

The envoy made the comment during his presentation at the International Understanding Programme at Chulalongkorn University's Institute of Asian Studies.

"It is up to Thailand and China to decide on the necessity of establishing a Chinese war reserve stockpile," he said.

Thai senior military officials said that both countries have informally discussed establishing a weapons reserve and would soon discuss the matter on an official level.

Armed Forces Chief-of-Staff General Somphong Khongsunthon said recently the discussed Chinese war stockpile was different from the US war reserves stockpile because it will contain only spare parts of Chinese-made arms, including tanks.

The envoy said the Soviet Union is not directly involved in the Kampuchean conflict, but "will continue to do whatever it can to end it."

"The Soviet Union is interested in an early settlement of the situation around Kampuchea," he said.

Recently, Moscow has set up a National Committee on Asian-Pacific Cooperation to further promote trade and economic, scientific and technological relations between the USSR and Asian-Pacific countries.

"During the years of perestroyka the USSR has improved relations with a great number of countries and spoiled relations with none. The geography of our contacts has significantly widened," the envoy said.

He also praised Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon's May trip to the Soviet Union, saying that it has contributed greatly to strengthening the mutual understanding between Thailand and the Soviet Union.

During the past six months three Soviet deputy foreign ministers have visited Bangkok to discuss bilateral problems and regional issues with Thailand.

He said due to perestroyka Moscow has initiatives to offer in international affairs.

"Three years of perestroyka have strengthened the peacemaking vigour of our foreign policy. The Soviet leadership believes that direct threat of war between the major powers is now reduced," he said.

There are new political trends in the Soviet Union, which he said are based on international reality prevailing.

"The world situation has become more stable and predictable. The prospect of curbing the arms race has become more real," he said.

When the Soviet Union has restructured its foreign policy, "it inevitably exerts significant influence on international relations too."

He cited great changes during the three years of perestroyka, such as the elimination of a class of nuclear weapons, the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, and a steady Soviet-American dialogue.

SRV Leader Extends Thanks for Election Greeting

PM1307100788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[Do Muoi, chairman of SRV Council of Ministers, message of thanks to USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] To the USSR Council of Ministers.

Allow me to express my sincere gratitude for your warm congratulations on the occasion of my election as chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers.

I am sure that the relations of fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples will continue to strengthen steadily and develop in the interests of the peoples of the USSR and the SRV for the good of the cause of peace, progress, and socialism in accordance with the course of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 6th Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Congress of restructuring and renewal.

Do Muoi, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers.

Deputy Minister Receives Indochinese Envoys

LD1307192088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1645 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jul (TASS)—Boris Chaplin, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, today received Nguyen Manh Cam, Vietnam's ambassador to the USSR; Khamphong Phamvongsa, the Laotian ambassador; and Al Leng Peng Long, charge d'affaires at the Cambodian Embassy, at their request.

During the conversation, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, the representatives of the three Indochinese states informed him about the extraordinary conference of foreign ministers of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos that took place on 11 July in Phnom Penh.

On the Soviet side, full support was expressed for the provisions of the communique that was adopted on the results of the conference. Boris Chaplin noted that the forthcoming "informal meeting" of the Cambodian sides in Indonesia, in keeping with the well-known accord reached on 29 July 1987 in Ho Chi Minh City, may become a reallly important event, allowing for progress toward new qualitative changes in the political settlement of the situation around Cambodia.

Comparison of Gromyko-Sibraa Talks Report

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 13 July carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on the 12 July Kremlin meeting between A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and K.W. Sibraa, president of the Australian Senate. The PRAVDA report, entitled "Talks in the Kremlin," has been compared with the Moscow TASS International Service Russian version published in the 13 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 25-26, revealing the following variations:

Page 25

Second column, first paragraph, line one reads in PRAVDA: "[Text] After traveling many thousands of kilometers to be in Moscow, the guest mainly asked questions and listened attentively to the answers. He enquired about the progress of restructuring, the results of the 19th all-union party conference, the development of glasnost, the prospects for Soviet-Australian relations, and the ensuring of security in the vast Asia and Pacific region. He received the necessary explanations to all these questions, as well as to a number of others.

"This was how A.A. Gromyko's talks with Kerry Walter Sibraa, president of the Senate of Australia's Federal Parliament, were held in the Kremlin 12 July.

"At the guest's request...."(adding passage)

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First column, third paragraph, line three reads in PRAVDA: "...level of relations that the Soviet side would like to have." (changing "of" to "that")

Second column, second paragraph, line three reads in PRAVDA: "...for their development. The exchanges taking...." (deleting opening quotation marks)

Same paragraph, last line reads in PRAVDA: "...of consolidating peace.

"A.A. Gromyko emphasized in conclusion...." (deleting closing quotation marks and speaker attribution)

Second column, penultimate paragraph, penultimate line reads in PRAVDA: "...will be growing.

"A.A. Gromyko conveyed best wishes to the parliament and people of Australia and expressed the hope that the positive advances made in Soviet-Australian relations will be augmented in the course of future contacts at all levels.

"The talks were held in a frank and friendly atmosphere.

"USSR Deputy Foreign Minister B.N. Chaplin and Charles Robin Ashwin, Australian ambassador to the USSR, were present." (adding passages)

Near East & South Asia

'Serious Consequences' of Pakistani Intervention

LD1307152688 Moscow TASS in English 1357 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 13 TASS—Islamabad continues violating the Geneva accords, and these violations assume ever more sinister forms, runs the commentary published in the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA today. While earlier, contrary to the assurances of the Pakistani leaders about their "sacred loyalty to the Geneva accords" Islamabad was merely "assisting" actions of the armed opposition and "tolerating" their presence on its territory, supplying armed groups with weapons and ammunition from its own arsenals and promoting their training and dispatch into Afghanistan, press reports now show that Pakistani Army units are being readied for direct participation in combat operations against the Afghan Army. There are press reports that Pakistan's President Ziaul Haq gave a sanction for such an invasion of Afghanistan by Pakistani troops. The press quotes a leader of the Pakistani opposition as saying that Ziaul Haq will send Pakistani troops to storm and seize Jalalabad and Qandahar before a march toward Kabul.

The armed opposition draws up plans of the seizure of some cities in districts from which Soviet troops have already been withdrawn. But the leaders of the "Peshawar Seven" clearly lack forces and skills, and so they count on direct support by the Pakistani Army.

According to press reports, commandos shortly plan to conduct an operation to seize the city of Spin Buldak and the Pakistani command decided to assist them. For this purpose the 21st Artillery Division of the Pakistani Armed Forces has already been moved from Quetta to the border line point Chaman. The division has been given an assignment to support by fire an operation of mujahidins. A temporary arsenal has already been set up in the area. The operation will be supported by Pakistani paramilitary units of militiamen. A Pakistani colonel, the commander of one of the regiments of the Pakistani Army, will organize interaction of all the forces, including Afghan commandos and Pakistani military (?units) and units of militiamen.

And the leaders of the "Peshawar Seven" Hikmatyar, Gaylani, striving to intensify the operations of their forces, promise them effective support by the Pakistani Army.

Islamabad has so far been either denying, or passing in silence, or at least trying to justify by religious considerations, "the struggles of Muslims for the faith and Allah against the Communist regime of Kabul" the fact that Pakistani citizens took part in the war against the lawful Afghan authorities. And what about the present when interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs is about to assume forms of outright military conflict with the use of armed forces against the Kabul regime?

If this is so, then President Ziaul Haq is in for serious trouble and he should realise what risks he is taking. Apparently they in Islamabad fail to realise what serious consequences can be entailed by direct participation of the Pakistani Armed Forces in that conflict. They should stop while it is not too late. The Geneva accords on peaceful settlement should be observed by all the parties to them, and direct interference of the Pakistani Armed Forces will not only sharply complicate the atmosphere but can also impart to the situation a very dangerous unpredictable character, also for Islamabad, says the commentary.

Weapons 'Caravans' Reported

LD1307132788 Moscow TASS in English 1237 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 13 TASS—TASS correspondent Yu. Tyssovskiy reports:

The assurances of the Pakistani top leaders on the determination to scrupulously honour the spirit and the letter of the Geneva accords are not yet being backed up by actions. Big consignments of weapons and ammunition for armed units of the opposition continued to be transferred to Afghanistan from the territory of Pakistan in the past few days. According to reports reaching here, caravans with weapons arrived at the provinces of Nangarhar, Qandahar, Parwan, Kapisa and the Khowst District. Up to 500 pack animals with weapons and ammunition were sent to the area of Jalalabad (Nangarhar) alone for armed formations of the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan in a period from June 15 to July 7.

Moreover, there are cases of Pakistan's direct interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. There are three Pakistani Army officers on the 20-man "inspection group" sent recently by the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA, the Yunis Khalis faction) from Peshawar to Nangarhar. A delegation of the Pakistani General Staff has come to the Islamic regiment (IPA of Gulbuddin Hikmatyar), stationed in Parachinar (the Kurram Agency, Pakistan), to determine the volumes of additional deliveries of arms and ammunition. Over 30 trucks with weapons have been sent to the Qandahar Province for the IPA rebels (the Hikmatyar and Khalis factions), the Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan, the Islamic Society of Afghanistan and the Movement for Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan from the area of Tuba, Pakistan, on the night of July 10-11 alone.

The military committee of the Hikmatyar party passed a decision to put a mine planting subject on the program of training terrorists at the training centre of Teri Mangal (the Kurram Agency), and a group of Pakistani instructors arrived there on July 10 with specimens of different-purpose mines. The first group of 90 men, who came from Baghlan, Samagan and Tahr, have got down to "studies."

Though the authorities of Pakistan have officially announced the liquidation of a number of training camps of rebels in the direct proximity of the frontier with Afghanistan, refugees returning home testify that this is Pakistan's yet another propaganda action, that camps continue functioning and men who have undertaken military training at the camps are periodically sent to the Afghan territory.

Foreign advisers also continue their unlawful activities in ranks of the armed opposition. Two foreign military advisers arrived at the Mulizai Kalai Kishlak (the Zabul Province, 23 kilometres from Kalat). There are three French instructors in the Daman District (Qandahar) and they have with them a group of operators of anti-air manual complexes aimed at destroying planes in taking off and landing. Three advisers from Saudi Arabia arrived at one of the IPA formations in the Agcha District (Jawzjan). In places of disposition of rebels, in the provinces of Samangan and Faryab, foreign advisers are checking combat preparedness of gangs with a view of pooling their forces.

More Afghan Protest Notes

LD1307203388 Moscow TASS in English 2007 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 13 TASS—Fresh evidence concerning Pakistan's violation of the provisions of the Geneva accords is cited in the 47th and 48th notes of the Foreign

Ministry of Afghanistan, transmitted to the U.N. Observer Group in Kabul. According to BAKHTAR news agency, the notes state the nature, the place and the time of violation as well as a request for a detailed investigation of the violation of the accords and for bringing the results thereof to the notice of the U.N. secretary general and the Afghan Government.

Afghan Opposition Military Plans Reported

LD1307160088 Moscow TASS in English 1500 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 13 TASS—Palpable defeats suffered by opposition groups at Qalat, Spin Buldak and a number of other Afghan towns have compelled the leaders of the Peshawar-based "Alliance of the Seven" to drop attempts to seize a small provincial or district center in this country so as to present it as a major victory for the "resistance movement".

The headquarters of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" (Jamiyat-e Eslami) in Peshawar has ordered armed groups in Pashtun Zarghun District in Herat Province to prepare for attacks on Afghan Army security posts.

Similar instructions have been issued by Jamiyat-e Eslami to groups in the area of Memaneh, Faryab, and by the leadership of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" (Hezb-e Eslami) headed by Yunis Khalis to its units in several districts of Nangarhar Province.

A convoy with arms, including Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and ammunition for heavy weapons, was sent to those areas from Landi Kotal, Pakistan, on July 9.

Hezb-e Eslami is concentrating armed groups in the areas of Spin Buldak and Maywand in Qandahar Province.

Gulbuddin Hikmatyar has ordered his units to seize Qalat, capital of Zabol Province, within a month, while the leadership of Jamiyat-e Eslami jointly with Hezb-e Eslami is planning massive bombardments of the provincial capital in Lowgar.

A special representative of the Hezb-e Eslami headquarters, "engineer" Asef, and two Pakistani advisers as well as shells, mines and other ammunition have been sent to the area of Baraki for the purpose.

Daily communiques reaching Kabul attest to the increasing frequency of acts of terrorism and shellings of cities by the opposition.

The leaders of Jamiyat-e Eslami and Hezb-e Eslami have decided at a conference in Peshawar to step up sabotage and terrorism throughout Afghanistan.

Several groups of terrorists, including three to four members each and totalling 30 people, have already arrived in the area of Qandahar. Their mission is to set off explosions in the city, stage acts of terrorism against members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and abduct Soviet troops. The terrorists are equipped with remote-control bombs, booby traps and communications devices.

A 400-strong rebel group has been moved from Ghazni area towards the city of Kowt-e 'Ashrow in Vardak Province to reinforce local opposition groups.

The situation in La'lpur District in Nangarhar Province, Kholm District in Balkh Province and Kodes District [place-name as received] in Badghis Province has worsened. Sarandoy (militia) units there are being attacked by rebels.

The Hezb-e Eslami leadership plans a number of operations in the first half of July to capture the districts of Sorhrud, Khugiani and Ruydad [place-name as received] in Nangarhar. Large batches of arms have been brought there from Pakistani Army depots.

The "Alliance of the Seven" in Peshawar has decided to pool the efforts of Hezb-e Eslami's armed groups of Hikmatyar and Khalis and the units of the "Islamic Alliance for the Liberation of Afghanistan" to pursue combat activities in Kabul Province.

The overall command there has been entrusted to the "Islamic Alliance" 's leader 'Abdul Rasul Sayyaf.

The general plan, drawn up with the participation of foreign advisers, envisages massive shellings of Kabul and district centers, increased sabotage and terrorist activity in the city and on the roads, and operations to seize the districts of Deh Sabz, Mir Bacheh Kowt and Shakar Darreh, among others.

In a related development, a special group of 15 terrorists, supplied with forged documents identifying them as officers of the Ministry of State Security and members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, has arrived from Parachinar (Kurram area, Pakistan) to Meydan, Vardak province.

Seeking to escape responsibility for heavy shellings, explosions and other acts of terrorism in Kabul and other cities lately, the leaders of the die-hard opposition have been intensifying subversive propaganda and alleging that Kabul has been rocketed from Soviet posts around the city.

Eager to offset popular anger at them over their crimes, extremist forces have been resorting to outright lies and sham "evidence", like shell fragments with Soviet markings ostensibly found in areas hit by rocket attacks, in these efforts.

The leaders of the "Alliance of the Seven", especially Hikmatyar, have been conducting an ideological indoctrination campaign also against home-guard units. A group of Hezb-e Eslami members recently "went over" to a tribal self-defense regiment in Helmand Province in a bid to persuade its troops to desert.

Rebel Clashes Noted

LD1207221788 Moscow TASS in English 0901 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 12 TASS—Another 20 families of Afghan refugees have returned from Pakistan to Kabul Province responding to the call of Afghan leadership for reconciliation. They were given food and necessaries.

A frontier guard unit of Herat Province destroyed a big weapons-carrying caravan that belonged to one of the opposition groups. Missile-launching installations, including a Stinger missile, large-calibre machine-guns, ammunition of various kinds and a radio station were captured by the frontier guards. Successful combat operations were staged in the provinces of Nangarhar and Kabul. As a result of them several armed groups were routed, dozens of bandits were killed and wounded, a large amount of weapons and ammunition was captured.

According to the information reaching Kabul, armed clashes between various opposition groups are going on. Two leaders of the units of the 'Islamic Party of Afghanistan' were killed during one of the clashes in Peshawar.

Najibullah Speaks at Army Awards Ceremony

PM1407124388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Following the Course of National Reconciliation"]

[Text] Kabul, 13 Jul—Orders and medals of the Republic of Afghanistan were presented today to Armed Forces servicemen who have distinguished themselves in fighting against extremist antigovernment formations. Some 230 officers and men of the army, militia, and security forces received awards from President Najibullah and other members of the Afghan leadership.

Following the ceremony Najibullah spoke highly of the role played by the Armed Forces in defending the gains of the people, Afghanistan's national independence, and the policy of national reconciliation. Broaching the situation inside the country, he pointed to two determining features. First, the democratization of society and the transition to principles of coalition and plurality of parties in political life and, second, the implementation of the Geneva agreements. Najibullah described the return home of 142,000 Afghan refugees, the establishment of the Constitution, the election of the president and parliament of the Republic, and the formation of a new government as very important achievements of the policy of national reconciliation, which was declared 18 months ago. The National Council, the Afghan leader stressed, has unanimously supported national reconciliation and demanded further progress be made in that course.

Najibullah went on to point out that the attempts by the enemies of peace in Afghanistan to capture a number of provincial centers had failed. Afghan servicemen had crushed extremists in Qandahar, Zabol, Vardak, and other provinces. Meanwhile, the withdrawal of Soviet troops continues according to schedule. Our Soviet friends, the president stressed, have discharged their international duty with honor and they are being seen off home by the Afghan people with gratitude. The grateful Afghans will always cherish fond memories of Soviet servicemen, Najibullah stated. The president of the Republic noted that the 3 months since the signing of the Geneva agreements had demonstrated that Afghanistan and the USSR are observing them honestly. In addition to the withdrawal of Soviet troops, much work has been done to prepare for the reception of refugees and set up demilitarized zones in the border regions. Other measures stipulated at Geneva are also being carried out. However, Pakistan and the United States have not only not stopped their interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs but have actually increased it. Extremist groups and large consignments of weapons are being sent in across the border. A "provisional government" headed by Ahmad Shah has been set up in Pakistan. The enemy is stepping up its terrorist activity against civilians.

Najibullah observed that all these facts confront the Armed Forces with a number of new tasks. Many of them were given specific form at the last PDPA Central Committee plenum. These tasks include, notably, strengthening the Armed Forces' capability to defend the motherland's independence on their own, ensuring reliable defense of the capital and provincial and district centers, roads, airports, and economic installations, eliminating extremist groups, and assisting returning refugees. These are difficult tasks, but they must and can be carried out, the president stressed.

Afghan Official on Past Mistakes, Current Issues

18070133 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 27, 2-8 Jul 88 p 4

[Interview with First Deputy Chairman of the Central Council of the Afghanistan National Front and member of the PDPA Central Committee, Habib Mangal, by correspondent D. Kholin: "Afghanistan—View From Within"; date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Kholin] According to official data, 130,000 persons out of a total of 5 million refugees have returned to Afghanistan. Does this not signify that the policy of national reconciliation, which your government is implementing, is "skidding off track" [probusksovyvayet]?

[Mangal] It is possible to look at this figure differently. These 130,000 returned home along a road which is not smooth, and with great difficulty, overcoming enormous obstacles which the Pakistani authorities placed before them. For us, the significant point of the Geneva agreements lies in the fact that now the Pakistani Government does not have the right to place obstacles in the path of the returning refugees.

[Kholin] All the same, imagine for a minute that the plans of the Peshawar Seven for seizing control in Kabul are crowned with success.

[Mangal] Then a sort of "Lebanonization" of the conflict awaits us. Each of the groups belonging to the "Alliance of Seven", which has been rent by enmity, will attempt to seize control and singlehandedly rule the country. The commanders of large dushman formations will try to do the same thing.

On the international level, accession to power in Kabul of the Muslim "ultra" will promote destabilization of the situation in the Middle East region as a whole and undoubtedly influence neighboring Muslim countries.... But I am convinced that it will not come to this.

[Kholin] What is the basis for your conviction?

[Mangal] The 10 years which have passed since the April Revolution have not been in vain for our country. During these years, we accumulated enormous experience—positive and negative. Much has been done to improve the economy, eliminate illiteracy, and revive Afghan culture.

[Kholin] What did you have in mind when you spoke of negative experience?

[Mangal] I am speaking about errors and mistakes, many of which were quite serious, made by the previous party and government leadership. I believe the primary mistake was made in the implementation of land and water reform. Unnecessary haste was tolerated, without studying the characteristics of Afghan society. As a result, the reform alienated those people who had formerly been receptive to changes taking place.

In accordance with a new government decree, nowadays the maximum size of privately-owned plots of land have been increased up to 100 "dzheribov", attracting peasants to the side of the Revolution.

A serious mistake was committed in the area of religion. Some members of our party did not take into consideration the fact that Afghans have a zealous attitude toward Islam. As a result, things were carried too far in relation to believers and religious figures; unnecessary restrictions were imposed on religious education. Today these excesses have been eliminated.

An additional mistake concerns the forgotten traditions of Afghan society. Thus, for example, in the process of eliminating illiteracy, courses were organized where men and women studied together. The government allowed itself to issue decrees which in essence were an intolerable interference in the affairs of Afghan families. Still more examples could be cited. I want to emphasize that all of our mistakes were immediately exaggerated and used by enemies of the April Revolution.

[Kholin] Incidentally, many of our readers ask us in their letters: Where is the former general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee Babrak Karmal today?

[Mangal] B. Karmal is currently undergoing treatment in the USSR.

[Kholin] What is the total number of party members today?

[Mangal] According to the latest data, PDPA membership numbers 205,000 persons. Sixty-two percent of servicemen are PDPA members.

After the 19th plenum of the PDPA, which was held in December 1986, measures were taken to cleanse and strengthen party ranks. Unfortunately, this process has not been moving with sufficient speed and is running into serious difficulties. To this day, the personal hostility between some PDPA members, remaining from the time when the party was divided into two factions—Parcham and Khalq—has not been overcome, although there are no disagreements on questions of principle.

Afghan Deputy Premier Mangal on Militia

PM1207105588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 88 p 3

[Interview in Kabul with Major General of the Militia M. Mangal, member of the PDPA Central Committee and deputy premier of Afghanistan, by own correspondent M. Kozhukhov: "Sarandoy on Guard"; date not given]

[Text] [Kozhukhov] Comrade General, "People's Militia" is a standard translation of the Pashto word "sarandoy" which really means "order guard." But maintaining public order is only one of your ministry's concerns. As far as you are concerned, is the war still going on?

[Mangal] There is peace too, as a matter of fact. The 22 hotels for refugees which have been built by our soldiers in the various provinces in the country are called just this—"Peace." Or here are more examples: In just the last year, Sarandoy doctors gave medical aid to 30,000 people. Free assistance from the USSR was passed on to 65,000 people.

But the struggles against crime, theft, abuse of authority, and drug addiction are also some of our tasks. Our investigators are uncovering hundreds of crimes, returning millions of afghanis to the state treasury. The total value of drugs confiscated from smugglers in 1 year alone reaches astronomic proportions: 368 kg of heroin, more than 5 tonnes of opium, and 21 tonnes of hashish.

Nonetheless, for many the Sarandoy in Afghanistan means primarily combat units numbering 100,000 men. It means armed struggle against the counterrevolution, military escorts for convoys with diverse freight, and thousands of security posts throughout the country. Finally, it means guarding 2,700 national economic facilities, more than 200 of which are Afghan-Soviet economic cooperation projects, moreover. We are proud of the latter figures: Almost half of our soldiers and officers are members of the party, and one in five is a member of the Democratic Organization of Young People of Afghanistan.

[Kozhukhov] Now that our troops are returning home, people in the Soviet Union are following with particular attention the development of events in your country. "How are things in Afghanistan?" our newspaper's readers ask in letters to the editorial office. What would you reply to them?

[Mangal] Unfortunately, there is a war as before. Afghanistan and the Soviet Union are strictly observing all the conditions of the Geneva agreements. But our opponents within the country and also abroad wanted to reduce the entire problem of fulfilling these accords to just the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Armed intervention in our affairs continues and the position is still complicated.

Here is a 24-hour situation report. The city of Khowst came under fierce attack. The population suffered casualties. An attempt was made to seize security posts in Paghman not far from Kabul. The families of two of our young officers are in mourning today.... But there is news of another kind. As a result of an accurate artillery strike, up to 80 extremists in Vardak Province were killed. Several dozen families of refugees returned home from Pakistan. The jirgah of the Shinwari tribe in Nangarhar Province supported the reconciliation policy....

I could cite many instances of this type. Some people may think that they are insignificant and do not provide an overall picture of what is going on. But that's the way it is: Our daily lives consist precisely of such events.

[Kozhukhov] How have the tactics of the armed opposition changed in connection with the beginning of the withdrawal of Soviet troops?

[Mangal] Failing to seize a single city in the country or establish "their own government," the extremists are inflicting perfidious strikes, aiming to make their presence felt, and destroy people's hopes for a speedy peace. So, it would be naive to expect friendship from those who during the entire April Revolution were our staunch enemy. Whereas previously they based their propaganda on the claim that "the Soviets would never leave" and even if this were to happen the "authorities would not last," now with each day they are forced to think the reverse. As a result of the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation, the counterrevolution is losing ground. What does it have left? Attempting to undermine people's belief in the government and its ability to establish peace, and govern the country. Intimidating refugees and blinding with terror the inhabitants of cities and villages.

[Kozhukhov] Thousands of civilian specialists from the USSR—doctors, teachers, engineers, and technicians—continue to fulfill their international duty in Afghanistan. And I won't hide the fact that their kinfolk are anxious when they open the morning newspapers with reports from your country....

[Mangal] I do not want to sound pretentious. But, believe me, after the Soviet troops leave, everything will be done to ensure the safety of your specialists, who are providing enormous and invaluable assistance in building a new, peaceful Afghanistan.

Afghan Minister of Commerce Holds Moscow Talks

Meets Murakhovskiy

PM1307133988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Questions of Cooperation Discussed"]

[Text] On 11 July V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Agroprom, received M.K. Jalalar, Afghan minister of commercial and economic cooperation.

A number of questions of commercial and economic cooperation were examined during the meeting.

Received by Katushev

PM1307140188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Talks Held"]

[Text] Talks were held on 11 July between K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and M.K. Jalalar, Afghan minister of commerce, who is on a visit to Moscow.

There was discussion of a broad range of questions connected with further developing Soviet-Afghan commercial and economic cooperation both at the state level and in the private sector, and questions of providing aid to Afghanistan to develop the economy and the social sphere.

Red Cross Chief on Efforts To Trace POW's

PM1307100588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[V. Zaykin report under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Once Again About the Fate of Soviet Prisoners of War"]

[Text] D. Venediktov, chairman of the USSR Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies Executive Committee, has recently returned from Geneva, the headquarters of the International Red Cross Committee. At a working meeting with the leadership of the International Red Cross Committee specific steps were outlined to clarify the fate of Soviet servicemen missing in Afghanistan.

This meeting was preceded by painstaking work to finalize the lists of our servicemen who have been captured by the Afghan opposition forces or who are missing, D. Venediktov said. It has now been established that a total of 313 people are missing. Approximately one-third of them have perished.... This is only a supposition based on unconfirmed information. Until accurate information which is not subject to any doubt is received about every individual serviceman, each of them will continue to appear on the missing list, that is, as if still alive....

Whenever we receive notification about the capture of a serviceman, we immediately try to establish contact with the prisoner.

The lists of Soviet servicemen missing in Afghanistan were handed over to the International Red Cross Committee. Representatives of the International Red Cross Committee can engage in negotiations with the warring parties and have the right to talk to the prisoners in private. The latter is particularly important, because under threat of reprisals, prisoners may give false information about the conditions in which they are kept. It is no secret that these conditions frequently fail to meet requirements.

Correspondence with the captured servicemen is established via the International Red Cross Committee. With the mediation of this organization, the places of internment of the Soviet prisoners of war are determined, until the conditions for their repatriation are agreed upon.

We have been promised that the lists which we have drawn up will be handed over to the national Red Cross and Red Crescent societies in Afghanistan, Pakistan, the United States, and a number of other countries. This will unquestionably broaden the scope of the search, since cases of forced transfer of Soviet servicemen to third countries are known.

Fourteen Soviet prisoners who have expressed the wish to remain in the West are not included on the lists handed over to the International Red Cross Committee for the reason that their fate is known. Six of them have settled in the United States and another six in Canada. The others are living in West Germany and Switzerland. The fact that they are not included on the lists does not mean that the Soviet Red Cross Society will not try to contact them. We intend to talk to all of them. Their reasons for not wanting to return to the USSR may vary. It need not necessarily be political motives. External pressure cannot be ruled out. Nor can fear of punishment "for having betrayed the motherland." The latter is unfounded, as is known from the statement of USSR Prosecutor General A. Sukharev.

Indian President Visits Uzbekistan, Departs

Leaves Tashkent 12 Jul

NC1407104188 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 1600 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] President Ramaswamy Iyer Venkataraman of India has concluded his visit to the Uzbek SSR. A banquet was given by the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in honor of the high-ranking guest.

President Venkataraman departed from Tashkent Airport on 12 July. The airport was decorated with the flags of India, the Soviet Union, and the Uzbek SSR. President Vankataraman (?and his delegation) were seen off at Tashkent Airport by Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; Anichev, second secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; Romanovskiy, deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; [name indistinct], Uzbek SSR minister of foreign affairs, and other officials. India's consul general in Tashkent was also among the officials at the airport.

Departs USSR 13 Jul

LD1307182688 Moscow TASS in English 0732 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Ulan Ude July 13 TASS—President of India Ramasvami Venkataraman and his wife left the USSR today.

The president of India was in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet Government.

Silayev Receives Indian Machine-Building Group

PM1207153188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received on 8 July a delegation from the Indian Machine-Building Industry Confederation headed by B. Lall Mundjal. The delegation has come to Moscow to take part in events marking the holding of an Indian machine-building exhibition.

A thorough exchange of opinions took place on ways of further developing cooperation between Soviet and Indian machine builders. It was stressed that the traditional good-neighborly relations between the two countries and the accords reached in the course of meetings between the Soviet and Indian leaders are a reliable guarantee for the broadening and deepening of trade, economic, and production ties in the machine-building sphere.

Egyptian Parliamentary Delegation Arrives

LD1207213688 Moscow TASS in English 1858 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 11 TASS—Today an Egyptian parliamentary delegation led by Rif'at al-Mahjub, speaker of the People's Assembly (parliament) of Egypt, arrived here at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The delegation consisting of members of the ruling National Democratic Party and the opposition New Wafd Party, was welcomed at the Shermetyevo Airport by Avgust Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities (one of the two equal chambers) of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Greeting the Egyptian parliamentarians, Voss noted that their visit to the USSR overstepped the limits of parliamentary relations and had great importance for the further development of cooperation between the two countries.

The Egyptian guests will be received by Andrey Gromyko, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. During their 10-day stay in the USSR they will visit Soviet Latvia (a Soviet Baltic republic) and Leningrad, the second largest Soviet city.

The speaker of the Egyptian People's Assembly told TASS that his country was following with great interest processes taking place in the Soviet Union. He noted that the USSR was not only a great power for Egypt but also a friendly country which had done much for the Egyptian people and which had won by this their recognition and sympathy.

Now Egypt, the high guest said, builds its relations with the USSR on the basis of the new thinking for the sake of developing bilateral relations and solving international problems bothering both countries.

Soviet-Egyptian relations are developing very vigorously but Egypt is striving for more, pointed out in conclusion the speaker of the Egyptian People's Assembly. He expressed confidence that the present visit would help implement this desire.

Tereshkova Receives Iraqi Assembly Speaker

JN1207201488 Baghdad Domestic Service in Arabic 1820 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Sa'dun Hammadi, RCC member and speaker of the National Assembly, met in Moscow today with Mrs Valentina Tereshkova, chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries.

During the meeting, Mrs Tereshkova stressed the USSR's eagerness to promote ties of friendship and cooperation with Iraq, and particularly on the level of mass and social organizations and societies. She also reiterated the USSR's firm stand regarding the need to end the Iraq-Iran war in accordance with the principles of respect for the sovereignty and independence of both states.

The meeting was attended by (Prokovez), chairman of the Soviet-Iraqi Friendship Society, and the Iraqi Ambassador to the USSR.

Algerian Interior Ministry Delegation Visits

LD1007101488 Algiers APS in Arabic 0800 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 10 July APS—Mr Mohamed Cherif Rahmani, secretary general of the Interior Ministry, arrived in Moscow yesterday at the head of a delegation at an invitation of the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Talks are scheduled to be held on Monday between the Algerian delegation and the Soviet side and with Mr Vlasov, the Soviet minister of internal affairs. On Sunday the Algerian delegation will visit the city of Vladimir, which is situated 180 km from Moscow.

Sub-Saharan Africa

RSA's Boraine Comments on Issue of Apartheid

MB1307144188 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] There was a rather unusual event in the Soviet capital yesterday. Our newsmen have met with eminent political leader from South Africa, Alex Boraine, at the conference hall of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

I believe the name of Alex Boraine is quite familiar to South Africans. An eminent politician, one of the leaders of the opposition to the ruling National Party, an MP who has been repeatedly elected for 12 years, Alex Boraine is now in the lead of the Democratic Alternative for South Africa. His visit to Moscow proved beyond doubt that the ideals of peace, humanism, and democracy cross the state borders. They belong to the whole of humanity. I believe our audiences in South Africa will be interested in the viewpoint of Alex Boraine on the developments in their country, the problems it is facing now, and the perspective for the future.

Alex Boraine said this in particular:

[Begin Boraine recording] However, let me start by saying that from 1948 until 1988 we've had a period of 40 years of repression and [word indistinct]. Repression from a small minority, a white government which has taken to itself economic, social, and political power. And from the moment it became the government of the day, the National Party, it sought to develop the policy of apartheid at every possible level in life. It was not only a political system, it was a system which embraced every aspect of life, from birth where you have to register in terms of your race, and not in terms of your humanity or in terms of your citizenship, until death where you were buried in different burial grounds on racial lines. So, the whole of life was conditioned by your race group, and that's what apartheid is all about. It is a cruel system, it is a system which divides, it is a system which terrorizes, it is a system which actually kills, and many victims of apartheid are there on the pages of our history. [end recording]

Policy of Apartheid in RSA Criticized

LD1307225588 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Igor Patovskiy commentary]

[Excerpts] [Patovskiy] Hello everybody. I'd like to start by saying that any complex problem has some aspects that are usually taken for granted. We wouldn't even take a closer look at these aspects, let alone question them. As we receive daily reports from South Africa, for instance, we assume there is a single reason behind all the talk about sanctions, the anti-apartheid protests, and the government's reaction, and that is unwillingness on the part of the regime to abdicate power, or at least to share it. The only debate there is usually on how to make the white community accept the much needed reforms.

Still, it's no less important to know what makes most South Africans support apartheid, even now when it's clear for everybody that the Pretoria regime is doomed. To say it's in the human nature to cling to power would be a simplistic explanation. Margaret Thatcher, for example, is explaining the fact by the Afrikaaners' psychology each time she refuses to impose sanctions on Pretoria. But what is it that makes Afrikaaners defend the system which people around the globe denounce as a crime against humanity? I'll try to avoid explanations given by politicians but instead will tell you about my talk with Helene Strijdom. She is a white South African student. I met her in the United States. She's neither radical nor a conservative-minded person. She's equally far from the ANC [African National Congress] and Broederbund. She says she tries to be objective and believes in the gold midway. So what shaped the views of the South African community, and were the whites really against changes?

[Begin Strijdom recording] If you take the history of the Afrikaaner group as such, which is very much in the spotlight and very much criticized, if you take their history and you appreciate the amount of threats that they have had against their existence. [sentence as heard] [passage omitted] If you understand that context, you will maybe be able to understand so much better how threatened they would feel by very sudden and very big change. It is something that they've had to learn to accept, not just happen. Do you understand what I'm trying to say? And it is happening.

Our generation and our parents' generation, our opinions differ tremendously from the older generation, but they are still there and they still have an influence on society itself and until that has grown out of the system, and out of the systems—which is happening very rapidly—that is when change will begin taking place more drastically. [passage omitted]

We have embarked on change, though very few people will actually admit it. It is still not enough very much. It's a way of starting. It's a way of people having to grow out of old ideas that they had, accepting new ones and starting to work together to make these new ideas work and given the right time and the right encouragement—you know criticism is excellent as long as it is constructive. It doesn't help to give negative criticism all the time because you'll push and push and push and eventually the person will feel he's being pushed against the wall and say: so far and no further.

You need that bit of encouragement, saying that we acknowledge that you're trying to do something, otherwise you can say: Look, we've tried, it seems hopeless. They won't be happy anyway so why do we even try? That is basically, in short, how I would summarize the situation in my country. [passage omitted]

I am just expressing my own opinion to try and present a slightly different side of my country because I think you'll admit that every country and every person as such has a good side and a bad side. Unfortunately, there is always so much more emphasis on the bad side only. Not that there aren't problems but you should also be able to look objectively and see some of the good that is happening and admit to it. [end recording]

[Patovskiy] Well, that was Helene Strijdom, a student from South Africa. I listened many times to this tape and I have mixed feelings about [it]. We must give Helene her due for the argumentation which frequently made me think that I might have a mistaken view of the Afrikaaners. Perhaps I should feel sorry for them and try to understand their attitudes, each person strange to the South African problems would certainly feel the same. Helene is right that every country has its good as well as bad aspects. We must assess objectively all the aspects.

Still, something imperceptible always made me question what Helene said. Maybe objectivity is limited by social if not racial reasons. [passage omitted] the problem root is in the resentment of apartheid by an overwhelming majority of the population. That resentment is still there and it may have serious effects. [passage omitted]

I don't have any intention that the white community in South Africa is increasingly seeking change and it's necessary to see the difficultness of this process of seeking a new look at society and the principles of racial relations in the country and see the real changes in the country. [sentence as heard] At the same time we must assess the situation realistically. There can be no talk about the significance of the changes and reforms in South Africa until the reforms affect the apartheid system. We also shouldn't underestimate the resistance to more radical change on the part of the Afrikaaners. I wouldn't explain that resistance by the genetic memory inherited from the first South African settlers, especially given that the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid says that 8 out of 10 Afrikaaners oppose reform.

East Europe

Further Reportage on Gorbachev's Visit to Poland

Gosplan Leader Gives Briefing

AU1307170588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jul 88 p 2

[Zygmunt Slomkowski report on news conference given to Polish and foreign journalists by Stefan Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, at a special press center for the Gorbachev visit in Warsaw on 9 July]

[Text] The process of economic reform in the USSR has already existed for some time. In the light of experience so far, what can be considered its greatest weakness and most notable achievements?

To this question from a TRYBUNA LUDU journalist at a 9 July news conference held at the Gorbachev visit press center, S.A. Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, replied as follows:

[Sitaryan] I would include among the achievements the major tangible return of economic cadres and workers' collectives to the principle of accountability. For the first time, they have started to make calculations, compare their production costs and results, seek ways of saving, and quite simply feel that they are managers. Their attitude toward the plan of government contracts supplied by Gosplan and ministries has also changed. If such a plan was meekly accepted in the past, despite the errors and faulty calculations in it, then today it causes protests. That means work forces and their managements have begun to treat their work, possibilities, and interests seriously.

However, the difficulty lies in the fact that we are altering the mechanisms in a situation where the 5-year plan has already been approved, a plan worked out on the basis of the old ideology and science. Breaking these barriers is painful. The center is scared of losing the threads of management. Inertia and conservatism are making their presence felt. But even so, everything is turning in favor of enterprises. New legislation is aimed in this direction, and we must learn to accept this, even inside Gosplan.

In addition, the reform commenced during the old plan, under the old prices and old system of supply. We are in a transitional stage, where the old exists side by side with the new. And our task is to leave this period behind us as quickly as possible. One of the resolutions of the 19th conference says that we should solve these problems during the period 1989-1990, including the problem of prices, so that we may enter the next 5-year period with a new price mechanism.

Next, in answer to further questions from domestic and foreign journalists, S.A. Sitaryan said, among other things:

[Sitaryan] The reform of price setting is a necessity. I mean the entire system of prices, in other words, wholesale and retail prices. There are already economic principles relating to wholesale prices. These prices must be brought closer in line with production costs and prices on world markets. We will also increase the possibility for enterprises themselves to establish prices.

The question of retail prices is more complicated because retail prices are closely connected with human affairs. Therefore, it is obvious that price increases must be offset by compensation. But the question is: How should this be done, and what criteria should be adopted? Unless a fair system that is comprehensible to everyone is found, there will be no price changes for the time being.

However, the essence of the process of restoring market equilibrium is not to change prices but to restructure production, alter the proportion between group A commodities and group B commodities, and increase the production of general utility goods. The clients of state contracts have made the rules more strict. There have been cases where the incomes of enterprises and wages have fallen as a result, and sometimes there were not even any funds out of which to pay wages. But there have been no cases of work stoppages. The situation was understood, and the work forces quickly began to do everything they could to continue normal production.

Of course, there may be dissatisfaction. What is most important is to make people realize that for good work, one can receive good wages.

An increase in productivity leads to a reduced need for manpower. Already in 1987, the national income rose solely because of productivity. Employment in the production sphere did not increase at all. Surpluses achieved in this sphere will be directed to the non-production sphere. In addition, it will be possible to dispense with work by old-age pensioners, which will create many job vacancies. If, after all the economic resources have been used up, there arises a danger to the likelihood of full employment, a principle of our system, then it will be possible to shorten the working day, introduce special concessions for women at work, and so on. Thus, there will be no danger of unemployment now or in the future.

Why has the market supply situation deteriorated? If we examine statistics, then a paradox appears. For example, in 1986-87, agriculture developed as never before. But it made no difference to the market. Why not? There were many reasons but two major ones. First, the state of the market was affected by the struggle against alcoholism: In other words, supplies of liquor fell by more than one-half. These were enormous quantities, which had to be compensated by means of other products. But supplies of liquor were reduced quickly, without a thought for the consequences, and when alternative goods had not yet been produced.

The present political reforms laid down by the 19th CPSU Conference will serve to enhance the economic reform. For example, there will be a strict demarcation between the functions of economic and party bodies and those of the soviets in running the economy. At present, all these functions intermingle. This is not good if we want to increase the responsibility of economic bodies and raise the scope and flexibility of the system of management.

In addition, the role of local soviets in managing the economy will increase. For this purpose, the economic base of local authorities is being expanded.

Krakow, Poronin Walkabouts Noted

*PM1307160188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "Leninist Lesson in Renewal. M.S. Gorbachev's Meetings on Krakow Soil"]

[Text] Krakow, 12 Jul—Ancient Krakow gave M.S. Gorbachev a cordial welcome today.

This major industrial and scientific center in the south of the country is known as Poland's second capital and the cradle of Polish statehood and culture. Krakow has a rich and glorious history. Every building in its central section is a unique architectural masterpiece from past centuries and a living reminder of outstanding figures in Polish and world culture, science, and politics. One of the vivid pages in Krakow's history is linked with the life and activity of V.I. Lenin. Vladimir Ilich lived and worked in this city, as well as in the nearby population centers of Bialy Dunajec and Poronin, during 1912-1914. Lenin museums have now been created there and are visited every year by hundreds of thousands of people from all ends of people's Poland and many foreign countries.

...At 1100 local time, M.S. Gorbachev and his wife, arriving at Krakow's Balice Airport from Warsaw, were met by W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of State; his wife; J. Gajewicz, first secretary of Krakow PZPR Committee; A. Kozub, chairman of the Voivodship People's Council; T. Salwa, governor of Krakow; representatives of the public, and working people of the city.

And so to one of the Leninist pages on Krakow soil—Bialy Dunajec. During 1913-1914, the modest wooden home of peasant woman Teresa Skupien with two rooms and an attic was where V.I. Lenin and N.K. Krupskaya lived and worked. Here Vladimir Ilich was frequently visited by his comrades in the revolutionary struggle, and here dozens of Lenin's works were written. A colorful rite of hospitality—bread and salt on an embroidered towel—took place at the entrance to the house-museum, and a band of highland musicians played.

Bandleader Jan Jendrol, who for half a century now has been keeping and developing the traditions of the folksong art of the inhabitants of this district, addressed warm words of greeting to M.S. Gorbachev. In addition to ancient melodies, the band's repertoire also includes a song composed by the people about Lenin's life in Poronin, which was performed by amateur artistes.

M.S. Gorbachev familiarized himself with the exhibits in the house-museum, where the whole atmospher of that memorable time has been carefully recreated. The CPSU Central Committee general secretary left this inscription in the honored visitors' book: "I express sincere gratitude to the leadership of Nowy Sacz Voivodship, the local authorities, and the collective of staffers of the house-museum for the carefully preserved memory of the stay in Poland of Vladimir Ilich Lenin—our great compatriot, founder of the Soviet state, and revolutionary, whose thought and will ushered in an entire epoch in the history of mankind. By developing restructuring, the CPSU and the Soviet people are continuing what he began."

The town residents gathered in the street outside the museum asked Mikhail Sergeyevich to approach them. A group of children from the local school held out to him an album of photographs and newspaper cuttings. It was the chronicle of Bialy Dunajec school, telling of the deeds of teachers and schoolchildren—helpers at the Lenin museum. The general secretary familiarized himself attentively with the contents of this "chronicle" of good deeds and left an inscription in the album. In it he thanked the schoolchildren and all the residents of Bially Dunajec for preserving memorable sites associated with the great man's life and activity and wished this district a bright future.

After several minutes driving along the green slopes of the Tatra, the motorcade arrived in Poronin.

And once again hundreds of people who have come here on tours of Leninist sites from various corners of Poland clustered around M.S. Gorbachev. Voices were heard:

"We are from Lodz."

"I am from Elblag."

"We are from Poznan...."

A conversation was struck up about history, about the present day in our countries, about the future. M.S. Gorbachev emphasized the need to study the lessons of the past and to cherish and augment what brought our peoples closer together in past centuries, not what divided them. This closeness and mutual attraction between the best sons of Russia and Poland have always existed.

"Do you agree with Mikhail Sergeyevich?" we asked his interlocutors, the Prensler family from Poznan.

Lidia, a Russian language teacher; Daniel, a physician; and the two daughters, Edetta and Katarzyna, answered in concert: Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke very well and correctly, for we need to be friends and to learn from each other.

M.S. Gorbachev proceeded to the park territory of the Poronin museum. Participants in the Poronin conference—Russian Social Democrats—stayed with V.I. Lenin in this building in October 1913. A memorial to Lenin—a gift to the Polish people from Leningrad workers—has been erected in the park of the museum, which preserves the memory of that event. M.S. Gorbachev laid a wreath at its foot.

W. Jaruzelski laid a wreath at the Lenin memorial.

Again there was lively and direct contact with the people gathered in the park. A small boy made his way through the crowd of adults, approached M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski, and asked permission to take a photograph. The two countries' leaders readily responded to the young photographer's request. Then little Jerzy got M.S. Gorbachev's autograph in his album and returned to his parents, radiant with joy.

M.S. Gorbachev continued his conversations. He thanked everyone for the unforgettable meeting at the Leninist sites and turned to the people gathered around him, saying: We are gratified that Ilich's name is close and dear to you. Thank you for what you are doing to preserve Lenin's memory. I feel it is the duty of our people and your people to continue the work he began. There is currently a great deal of discussion in your country about the path Poland should take. You must also be aware that our country, too, is discussing the path the Soviet Union should take. Our latest event—the all-union party conference—excited the whole country: Some 280 million people followed the events on television. And it is clear that just as in October 1917, our people have again voted in favor of the Leninist choice: socialism. But we must do everything to ensure that this formation, the formation of working people, turns to squarely face its fellow working people and that the life of our countries is organized by the people themselves and managed by them. This is the most important task of all. Most of the mistakes made in our country and in yours could have been avoided if our peoples had constantly been involved through the years in the solution and discussion of all problems.

You can be sure that we are firmly committed—for a long time, forever—to our friendship with the Polish people. This is the main thing. Of course, difficulties can always arise. But I think that the very spirit of our cooperation will help to solve these problems in a friendly, fraternal, timely fashion.

In the afternoon the people of Krakow, who filled the streets and squares in the old quarters of the city, warmly greeted M.S. Gorbachev, who had arrived in the ancient city from Poronin.

The cries of greeting, handshakes, and toasts which accompanied the Soviet leader through the historic square were supplemented by a wealth of flowers. Carnations, roses, gladioli, and gerberas—flower sellers gave dozens of their best bouquets from their stalls to the guest of old Krakow. It did not matter that not everyone had flowers ready for this meeting. People expressed their liking for the man who the Polish public has admitted is its "most popular state leader" in smiles, welcoming gestures, and the way in which they allowed the children to stand in front.

In their conversations with the general secretary, the people of Krakow wished Soviet restructuring success and talked of their liking for the Soviet people and the importance of further developing contacts between the two countries' citizens.

Meets People in Szczecin

LD1407095788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent D. Biryukov]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's official friendly visit to the PPR continues. Our special correspondent reports:

[D. Biryukov] Today Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited Szczecin, one of the major cities of the PPR. Looking at the residential districts and carefully restored historic buildings and monuments, it is hard to imagine that at the end of the war more than half the houses in

Szczecin were destroyed, and all works were in ruins. Now Szczecin is a city of modern industry and a major port on the Polish Baltic coast, as well as one of Poland's important scientific and cultural centers.

Goleniow Airport—a Soviet IL-62 [as heard] airliner, having flown in from Warsaw, has landed on the Szczecin soil. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with his spouse and other Soviet guests have arrived aboard it. [video shows people waving miniature Polish and Soviet flags in front of a festively draped terminal; taxiing Aeroflot TU-154B Plane No CCCP-85604; the Jaruzelskis waiting; Gorbachev, Raisa, Shevardnadze, Medvedev, and others disembarking from the plane]

[Gorbachev, descending aircraft steps] Since we're here, the weather is fine. [laughter, applause; folk bands, singing in the background]

[Biryukov] At the foot of the steps, they are welcomed by Wojciech Jaruzelski with his spouse; Miskiewicz, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee; and other officials and representatives of the public. [video shows the exchange of handshakes; flag waving public; children presenting flowers; the two leaders and entourage walking toward a crowd]

[Gorbachev] Hello.

[Voices in Polish and Russian] Hello, hello.

[Gorbachev] I am not asking how you are, as I can see what mood you're in. [laughter, indistinct voices] That's good.

[Biryukov] A Polish Television correspondent addressed a question to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

[Correspondent, speaking in Polish] (?It is said that) Comrade Gorbachev (?has a strong) liking for General Jaruzelski. Where does this liking come from?

[Gorbachev] You know, first we just met in the line of, let's say, duty, on account of our offices. But now I can say that there is great party friendship between myself and Comrade Jaruzelski. I think the main thing is that we are together conducting the struggle, working to take our countries to a new level, in the interests of the people and in the interests of the whole of socialism. And I am not going to conceal that we relate very well man to man. I consider Comrade Jaruzelski a great friend of mine.

[Correspondent] Friendship between leaders is also good for their countries.

[Gorbachev] You know, I will tell you Poles one more thing straight. You've been lucky that at this far-from-simple stage in Polish history, there came a man of high moral qualities, enormous intellectual capability, a man who loves this land and is a great internationalist.

[Correspondent] The general is embarrassed.

[Jaruzelski, speaking in Polish] It is unbecoming to argue with a guest, but I think he's exaggerated equally my abilities and my role. But the friendship...

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Yes, but it was me they asked. [laughter]

[Jaruzelski] ...Is very (?special to me).

[Correspondent] Thank you very much. [video shows close-ups of Gorbachev, Jaruzelski, interpreter, correspondent, with Czyrek visible behind Jaruzelski, Barbara Jaruzelski behind Gorbachev; folk music, songs in the background]

[Gorbachev] Well, what is it like here on the border? Are you keeping up friendship?

[Unidentified voices] Yes. We are, we are. Very much so.

[Gorbachev] I know that our soldiers are here, too, within the Warsaw Treaty. I know that our armies cooperate. You are on the border with the GDR, our great mutual friend. That is the great thing that was born as a result of the great, hard struggle against fascism, where we were together with you, side by side with you. And I have to say that we laid a great sacrifice on the altar of the struggle. But the fact that today this land has returned to the embrace of the homeland and is marching along the wide road with the whole of Poland, and the fact that today, here you are in such mood on this historic, from time immemorial Polish soil, this is an inspiration. It means that the sacrifices were not in vain; the struggle was not in vain.

Straight from this I would like to jump to the present day. Today you and we again face great tasks. Not everything is simple; not everything is easy. But let us recall the lessons of the past, when things were difficult for us. Equally the Russian people and the Polish people have it firmly in mind to do everything to overcome these difficulties. But these are not the difficulties that they had then. These are different difficulties. It is just that you and we want everything to get better more quickly. Last night in Krakow we were talking, and I said to the Krakow inhabitants: I understand that you want everything to be well by tomorrow. But you must understand that Comrade Jaruzelski and I want everything to be better already tonight. [laughter] After all, it would be a great boon for us. But we have to be realists. We have to tell you the truth, what has to be done, how it has to be done, to reach those levels which we discussed together as a people.

[Unidentified woman, in Polish] I think that we should start speaking the truth. That's what it amounts to, that the truth should be told.

[Gorbachev] True, true. Only the truth. We, in our country, when great processes have been launched, we have to get to understand our country, the conditions in which we live, what is taking place around us, what was happening to us yesterday, what is happening today. And we have to sort it out on the basis of the truth. Otherwise, you cannot work out policies which would correspond to realities. So it has to be the truth; however difficult it might be, it has to be the truth.

[Woman] I think that currently truth and courage are in fashion.

[Gorbachev] Well, I wouldn't like it to be just a fashion, but our reality. [laughter]

[Woman] I was saying it in quotation marks. [laughter]

[Gorbachev] Thank you for the welcome.

[Biryukov] The same warm, sincere atmosphere as in all those places Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has visited already is established from the very first moments on the Szczecin soil. [video shows the Gorbachevs, with the Jaruzelskis behind them, walking along the crowd, shaking hands; Medvedev and Shevardnadze can be glimpsed further back in the arriving party. Young man in the crowd with an SLR camera says in Polish: "Could I just have a word," with the rest drowned by the general noise. Eventually he holds out to Gorbachev a notebook and a pen, and everyone bursts out laughing. Gorbachev walks up to a folk band, shaking hands and saying: "Thank you, thank you."]

Straight from the airport, the motorcade sets off for the Adolf Warski shipyard.

Friendship Rally Held

LD1307122288 Moscow TASS in English 1217 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Szczecin July 13 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has visited the Warski Shipyard after arriving in this city today.

He toured that major facility building sea-going ships of different classes. Half of its exports in the current five-year period will go to the USSR.

Gorbachev talked to shipyard executives and workers.

A Soviet-Polish friendship rally then took place, which was addressed both by the Soviet leader and by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of the State Council of Poland.

Talks to Shipyard Workers

LD1407110988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent D. Biryukov]

[Text] [Biryukov] The Warski Shipyard is one of the largest enterprises in Szczecin and in northwest Poland as a whole. During the years of people's power some 440 ships of various types have been built here, with more than 200 for our country, to Soviet orders. They help the Polish friends to work confidently, with clear prospects. It is not by accident that the shipyard is a collective member of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society. Soviet people are always welcome here, while today will probably be well remembered by the Polish shipwrights. [video shows shipyard facilities, limousines rolling in, with crowds all around; crowd applauding; the Gorbachevs walking with entourage and waving; Gorbachev shaking hands with the workers; the Gorbachevs and Jaruzelski facing two hard-hatted workers; general indistinct chatter, laughter, voices saying "all the best, thank you"]

[Gorbachev] Thank you, thank you, comrades. You know, I am glad to meet you, and I would like to convey to you sincere greetings from the Soviet Union because your products are known in the Soviet Union and your products have a good reputation. Well done, as we say in such instance, well done. And I would like to wish you continued success because when the working class is successful, then the whole society feels confident and any ruling party and government feel confident, seeing as the basis of a socialist society is the working people, and the leading force among the working people is the working class. Thank you for wishing us to proceed firmly along the planned course, but it will not work without you, (?I'll tell you that) straight.

[Worker in white hard hat, speaking in Polish] Comrade General Secretary, can we also ask you for something? [Gorbachev signs books]

[Gorbachev] Go ahead.

[Worker] We are a department with a large collective [word indistinct], all sorts of people. We like to travel when we get an opportunity. We have been to the PZPR Central Committee, to the Belweder, to the Sejm. I find it a bit difficult saying this, but there is such a city in Europe, far away from us in kilometers, but it seems to us that it is much closer to us than Bonn or Paris. We have not yet been to Moscow, to the Kremlin. We would very much.... [laughter]

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Well, consider it done. I think that Wojciech Wladyslawovich and I will try to organize a visit for you, so that you can both be in the Kremlin and talk to our working people.

[Worker] Thank you from the bottom of our hearts. [Gorbachev signs more books]

[Gorbachev] You know, I think that the most significant thing is—and this is confirmed by my visits in Poland, to Warsaw and to Kracow—that the relations between our countries have descended from the government level, oblast level, to working collectives, families, young people. All these young people we have seen during these few days—that's very good, and that's how it should be.

[Worker] That's exactly how it should be.

[Gorbachev] So, let's shake on it.

[Worker, speaking in Russian] Agreed.

[Gorbachev] And let's have it sealed. [Gorbachev, worker shake hands; Jaruzelski seals the handshake; laughter, applause]

We are now having exchanges all the time—equally at the level of experts, scientists, at the level of specialists, through government bodies. You know, despite all the differences which exist, there is much that's common in the Soviet Union and in Poland, a great deal. And even now, when we are traveling by car we continue talking (?about it); when we are going by plane, we continue talking about it. There is a great deal, equally, as far as the work of government bodies is concerned and especially as far as economic reform at enterprise level is concerned. Especially as in some things you already have both acquired good experience and got some bruises. And it's exactly the same with us. And when we exchange experiences, we gain mutually.

At the moment we have a great deal in common. And, of course, this is not an easy time. But we need it. If we fail to grasp that we have to understand this time and do everything as required, we are going to fall behind. And our countries have great potentials. We have educated people, great traditions. I have to say that it is good for both our peoples that they love their land very much. Patriotism in Poland and the Soviet Union is a great force, national force. And that means that it is going to help us resolve all our tasks. And this generation, you and I, we have started important work. It will be continued by others. But we have started it, although it is difficult and we can feel it. Don't we, both you and we, want everything to change as early as tomorrow? But it doesn't work like that, it doesn't work like that. And nevertheless, we have to do everything to speed it up. And our thinking went so: Of course, a long time is needed for the whole reform, to reach the objectives we have set. But we have to tackle the issues of food, goods, and housing without delay, (?and similarly), those of health care, education, working conditions. Now we are turning these things around and doing a lot there. But now under the reform you are getting all the rights here. And if you've got rights here, you've got responsibilities here, so it's no use now complaining about the boss. [laughter] You have a great many things here now. You have to do things yourselves.

[Worker] We are supposed to manage ourselves.

[Gorbachev] And you know, I look at your working class, at our working class. The people are educated, there are many experienced personnel. And they can tackle things successfully. How can you, in the Soviet Union, where there are nearly 300 million people, direct everything from Moscow? It's stupid. But we have had that stupidity, and even still it remains. [industrial hammering noise in the background] Now we are saying goodbye to it. And our reform is working. As of 1 January next year all industry will be working under financial autonomy. We have a great deal of discussion going on. Some have been successful, others have failed. But they have grasped that it is better to manage themselves and sort things out themselves. And that's the most important thing. The way we see it is that things will not work in the economy if the government bodies, the ministerial bodies, and locally, the local authorities are not dynamically connected to the reform, do not take part in the reform, and are not tied to it. So we have to restructure this.

We have had this discussion at the conference. You have probably sensed what kind of a discussion we had there. And they haven't shown everything yet. [laughter] Things were hot there for everyone. But it was necessary, it was good. Perhaps for the first time in decades we felt our people, what they have become like—equally knowledgeable, skillfull, responsible, and demanding.

I think that this process—when people through democracy, at the level of enterprise, at city, rayon level, come to the solution of all questions—is now going to lead to quick changes in the composition of personnel. Now everything is going to become clear, concerning who is capable of what, whether he can run the things or not. People themselves will sort it out more quickly. And that's how it should be under socialism. People should make all the decisions. After all, it is their power, their system. That is why we have to get rid of what we had in the past. We have had dukes [kayaz] appear here and there, dukes at enterprises and in the party apparatus, and in rayons and cities. But there there are no dukes under socialism. The principal character is the people and first and foremost the working class. But, of course, if there are such rights, there is (?corresponding) responsibility. They always go hand-in-hand. [video shows workers craning their necks]

I think you have probably learned yourselves that in the eighties questions have to be put sharply, truthfully, honestly, and rousingly, but you should not allow instability in the society because then you need years to get out of it.

I would like to tell you that we are in solidarity with what you, the Polish people, the leadership of the country, are doing. We welcome Comrade Jaruzelski's efforts in his present office. We also understand your problems very well. And we are going to resolve them together, and that way things are going to be easier for us [words indistinct]. [applause] [video shows Gorbachev, entourage walking through the yard, facing another group of workers]

Now we can say that our relations have started very much to expand, deepen, and become more concrete. Young people, the working class, the intelligentsia, scientists have now started to cooperate, to get to know each other better. And I am simply very pleasantly surprised by the meetings and conversations which I have been holding here over the last few days. Bear in mind that in the Soviet Union the attitudes to People's Poland, to the Polish people are highly respectful and comradely, and I am convinced that all in all our common cause is going to develop.

[Worker, speaking in Polish] Thanks to you our hopes have grown very much, and we would like to thank you very much for this.

[Gorbachev] Well, I must say that Comrade Jaruzelski and I understand each other completely.

[Voices, in Polish] That's very important. [laughter]

[Gorbachev] And we have very good man-to-man contacts. And I will tell you, without the support of the working class, the working people, nothing will come of it all.

[Voices, in Polish] We are going to, that's right.

[Gorbachev] Our task, at the leadership level, is to make policies that people need. If the people do not accept them, then nobody needs them. It's a useless business.

[Worker] So that we can relay to you that our work, sound honest work is not going to be wasted?

[Gorbachev] Indeed, that is right. [general indistinct chatter] [video shows Gorbachev's party moving along; applauding workers; Gorbachev explaining to somebody off screen as he walks: "...state, party line, party protocol...."]

Addresses Shipyard Workers

*PM1407123588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report on M.S. Gorbachev's speech under general heading "We Are Right Behind Your Restructuring. Soviet-Polish Friendship Rally at the A. Warski Shipyard"]

[Text] Esteemed comrades , Comrade Jaruzelski, dear Polish friends: The program of my visit to Poland has led to you, Szczecin, to your shipyard, and to this meeting, which I am sincerely happy about. I thank you for the feelings that have just been expressed here at the very beginning of my meeting with you. I want to agree with Comrade Jaruzelski, with everything he said here about the working class and its contribution to the renewal, the socialist renewal of our countries, said with great frankness and candor. [This and the following additions and variations are carried by Moscow Domestic in Russian at 1500 GMT on 13 July in a similar report. The Moscow Domestic version adds: "...renewal of our countries. I would even put it more frankly, and more bluntly."]

If the Soviet leadership—and, I understand, the Polish leadership here, too—had not felt the support of the working people, had not felt the support of the working class, they could not have forwarded the present policy of restructuring and socialist renewal of our countries. Most importantly, this policy is worth nothing at all if deprived of the support of the working people, the workers.

Therefore, my first words are greetings for you dear friends, the workers' collective of the Warski shipyard, on behalf of the Soviet people, on behalf of our party and government. And through you, I greet the working people of Poland, the working class of Poland, who over these years are accomplishing perhaps the most important tasks, fateful tasks, for their country and the whole of the socialist world.

Dear comrades, I would like, first and foremost, to share our whole delegation's great impressions of our stay over these days on Polish soil. Primarily we have been gladdened and excited. We have been forced to reflect on many matters by the atmosphere that our visit has been held in. We have had very many meetings, most of which were not scheduled in the program of the visit. These were lively meetings with the working people of Poland in Warsaw, Poronin, Krakow, and with you here today.

So far we have only visited one workshop, but we have already had very important brief conversations. [Here the Moscow Domestic report adds:" So far we have only visited one workshop, but we have already had three very important brief conversations."] You know, perhaps the most important thing in our visit is that we can sense that Polish working people have sincere feelings for us, as representatives of the Soviet people. We can sense the Polish people's genuine interest in our affairs and that they are interested in much and want to know more about what is going on today in the Soviet Union. I arrived, and right away I read the words that you are in total solidarity with our great cause of restructuring. Thank you for that.

Perhaps even at such a large meeting, it is still worth us considering together what is happening. We spoke about this yesterday evening, and I have discussed this with Comrade Jaruzelski.

The attitude to us, the attitude that we have experienced these past few days, is not just a matter of paying homage to a guest, not just hospitality based on mere good manners. It is clearly something more important. It is evidence of more important changes in our relations. In recent years we have sensed that we—Poles and Soviet people—have become closer, that our need for each other is growing, that our mutual understanding is growing, that we have become more open to each other. [Here the Moscow Domestic report adds: "...discussed this with Comrade Jaruselski. This is not simply hospitality, based only on culture. This, surely, is more important; it is the evidence of more important changes in our relations. Over the past few years we have sensed that we have become closer."] Earlier it was a policy of friendship and cooperation on the level of parties, governments, and regions. At present, we see that something new is taking place: Our working people are reaching out to each other. They wish to continue to proceed along the path we have chosen. We have one path: In our country we think of this path as restructuring; you think of it as socialist renewal.

Let us properly appreciate the fact that, having traveled a lengthy path in the history of our relations, where everything took place, much was joyful and will forever remain in people's memories. Also, much was dramatic, from which we draw and have drawn lessons. We stand shoulder-to-shoulder with each other. [Here the Moscow Domestic report adds: "Let us rejoice together that having traversed a lengthy path in the history of our relations, where everything took place, much was joyful and will forever remain in people's memories and much was dramatic, from which we draw and have drawn lessons. But, let us rejoice at the fact that we are now together and that we feel we stand shoulder-to-shoulder with each other."] We are convinced that with Poles, these are the shoulders of reliable friends. You can count on the same attitude on the part of the Soviet people.

Comrade Jaruzelski and other comrades have said how important cooperation with the Soviet Union is for Poland. I want to say that we consider cooperation with People's Poland in all respects vital as well, dear comrades. [Here the Moscow Domestic report adds: "I want to say sincerely that we..."] We want to develop our cooperation in the sphere of politics, both at home and abroad. We want to enter upon new forms of cooperation in the economy in order to promote our common advancement, our successful advancement. Over the last few years, we have been getting extensive cooperation going in the sphere of human relations.

In 2 days, we have seen and heard much that testifies to the the fact that here as well we are witnesses to new relations. We are glad that the workers and the working collectives of our countries are cooperating more closely and broadly. We are very pleased that now contacts between our young people are developing and expanding. It is very important that what has been done by the preceding generations to create our friendship should be continued by the new generations that come to take our place.

We are very glad that ties of cooperation between our scientists and representatives of art and the whole sphere of culture have expanded in recent years. All-in-all, we can now say that our present relations have become truly nationwide in character. In my view, this is the most reliable guarantee that our relations will gain in strength. During these days we have spoken much of the past, and even more of the present. But at the same time, we have been thinking about the future. At present, we have already agreed on the main questions relating to cooperation in the sphere of the economy for the period 1991-1995. This will create reliable prerequisites for our joint work.

Allow me, at this moment, dear comrades, to give heartfelt thanks to you, your labor collective, for what you have done for the Soviet Union over the course of many years. I would like to say to you that your output is well appreciated in the Soviet Union, and we hope that your brand will not only be retained, but that you will surely step up your work and supply even better ships to the Soviet Union.

I would now like to take this opportunity to say a cordial thank you for your conscientious labor, your competent and highly professional labor.

As it turns out, perhaps not by accident, the program of the itinerary of the current visit started in Warsaw, continued in Krakow, and has brought us here to Szczecin. In itself, it has all turned out to be very symbolic. I talked to Comrade Jaruzelski about this when we were in the car. This itinerary itself disposes one to meditation. Once again we have the opportunity to turn to the past, to our history. If today you can be proud of the results of the achievements performed on your soil, on truly Polish soil, and we can share this joy with you, then it is surely appropriate—more than that—it is an obligation that rests on us, living now, to recall our joint struggle and the great sacrifices which our people made. We do this so that today, both the Soviet Union and People's Poland can occupy such a prominent position in Europe and in the world, and so they can make their enormous contribution to the struggle of peoples for a better world and for cooperation between peoples. We very highly appreciate Poland's contribution and what the Polish people are doing today, at a crucial stage in their history, for the development of world socialism.

We find many useful things in your experience now that we have gotten down to implementing restructuring in the Soviet Union. We want—just as the Polish leadership wants—to show more skill, competence, and organization at the sharp bends of our history and to prevent major mistakes, especially political mistakes. These are the most costly mistakes, and it is not just a single collective, or a town, or a region that pays for them.

Frequently all of the people, the whole country, pays for them. That is why contacts and experience-sharing are so necessary to us now, in order not to repeat each other's mistakes, on the contrary, to use everything new, all the achievements available in our countries and in all the socialist countries.

We are ready for cooperation. During these days, we feel that the Poles are equally ready for cooperation. I think that maybe now, as never before, as in the most difficult periods of our common history, endurance is even more required of our peoples, the working class, and of the Polish and Soviet leaderships. One should not flinch from difficulties! One should not fear difficulties or panic when confronted with individual failures! We have begun together and will complete such an enormous task, in which those who endure will win. I wish you not only skills, success in work, and unity, but also revolutionary endurance.

Dear comrades, the day after tomorrow, we will have a session here of the Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw. Countries of the socialist community will discuss fundamental current issues which arouse the concern of the people of our countries and of the entire world. We are going to this session with fresh constructive ideas, ready to continue the peaceloving, constructive line in international affairs. We are ready to seek mutually acceptable solutions. I think that primarily we will discuss the situation in Europe. [Here the Moscow Domestic report adds: "...constructive ideas, ready to take an unprejudiced look at the present situation in Europe and in the world. And together with our partners in the West, we are ready to seek paths to a better world and cooperation. I think that primarily..."] You can rest assured that we feel the huge responsibility toward our peoples, so that everything that has been gained in the years of struggle against fascism and in the years of post war construction should be preserved and reliably defended, moreover, in conditions of a better world of cooperation among the peoples. We rely on the huge strength which is at our countries' disposal. We are ready for an enterprising foreign policy in the interests of preserving human civilization, for the good of all peoples.

Allow me to wish you, dear comrades, all of the working class, and all of People's Poland, new, great achievements on your soil, which, as we have once again been convinced in these days, you love and want to make even richer and more prosperous in the interests of every Pole. [Here the Moscow Domestic report adds: "Thank you. [applause] Here's a souvenir for you. [applause] Thank you."]

The Polish shipbuilders greeted the USSR and Polish leaders' speeches with tumultuous applause.

Jaruzelski Speech Cited

LD1307152488 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Szczecin July 13 TASS—"Here, near the Western border, we sense with particular clarity the importance of our alliance, the shared national, class and state interests", said the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic Wojciech Jaruzelski. He spoke today at a Polish-Soviet friendship meeting held at the Warski Shipyard here. The meeting was attended by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

"The fraternal socialist countries, the Polish People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, are living as good neighbours. Their friendship with the Soviet Union and its principles stand on the question of the inviolability of post-war borders constitute our common and unquestionable historic gain, he said.

The Polish leader recalled that it was exactly in Szczecin that "the voice of worker protest agaisnt distortions contradicting the essence of socialism sounded eight years ago". He said further that the revived trade unions, which have absorbed the heritage of various trends in the former organisations of working people, "today in their relations with the government and in the ranks of the party are quite a self-governing institution that expresses the interests of work collectives".

Addressing the Soviet guests the Polish leader said that "in the course of these several days of July you have had an opportunity to see for yourself that perestroyka is not just an internal matter of your great country. It is giving rise to widespread interest in socialist countries and in the whole world. The course and the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, the decisions adopted at it clearly show that perestroyka will not stop half-way, that it is not just an episode but a genuine watershed and simultaneously a stable historical process. The Polish public's attitude to this policy is one of sincere sympathy and profound appreciation".

Gifts Exchanged at Shipyard

LD1307223688 Moscow TASS in English 2222 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Szczecin July 14 TASS—By TASS special correspondent:

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, visited the seaside city of Szczecin on the third day of his visit to Poland.

Gorbachev visited the Warski shipyard, a large industrial enterprise which manufactures various ships on Soviet orders, and talked with senior executives and workers of the shipyard.

Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of the State Council of Poland, addressed a rally of Soviet-Polish friendship.

The Polish shipbuilders met the two leaders with enthusiastic applause.

They warmly received a gift from the Soviet leader to shipyard staff members—the painting "Moscow" by E. Vyrzhikovskiy from Leningrad.

On behalf of shipyard workers, Welder F. Olciak thanked the guest for the warm words he said about the shipbuilders and all working people of Poland.

He presented Gorbachev with a mock-up of the sea ferry "Georg Ots", built at the shipyard. The ferry served as a residence for the Soviet leader during the historic Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik.

Accepting the gift, Gorbachev said that that was a good home, and not only a home but also a study and a conference hall, in short it was an excellent ship.

After the rally, the general secretary took a walk about the city. Thousands of citizens, who gathered in streets and squares, warmly welcomed the Soviet leader.

The general secretary laid flowers at the the foot of the Three Eagles Monument in the centre of the city and made an entry in a memorial book.

The monument symbolises a continuity of three generations of Poles who restored to Poland its western lands and continue building anew life here.

At the Central Cemetery, Gorbachev laid flowers to the Monument of Brotherhood-in-Arms and paid tribute to Soviet and Polish soldiers who died in the fighting for the liberation of Szczecin.

Then Gorbachev visited an exhibition of products of the Szczecin state farm and its hothouses.

On the same day, the general secretary returned to Warsaw.

Visits Szczecin Monument

LD1407160488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This afternoon, the Soviet guests arrived at the memorial to the feats of the Poles on Szczecin soil. When the civic authorities decided to eract this memorial in 1972, the citizens supported them and undertook to cover all the costs connected with the erection of the monument. The monument was erected in Kasprowicz Park on 3 September 1979, for the 40th anniversary of the attack on Poland by Nazi Germany. On the pedestal of the monument are three carved eagles. The eagle is the badge of Poland. They symbolize three generations of Szczecin Poles: those who built Poland; those who later built a new life in People's Poland; and those who now by their labor are strengthening socialist Poland. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee laid flowers at the foot of the monument. The meeting was opened by (?Rysard Drobkiewicz), chairman of the city council.

A souvenir medal was presented to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Then Comrade Gorbachev spoke:

[Begin Gorbachev recording in Russian with passage-by-passage translation into Polish] Dear Polish friends! I address you in this sacred place with words of greeting from the Soviet people. I am happy to be here with other comrades from the Soviet Union to meet you, and to remember, to honor the memory of those who in a joint struggle laid down their lives in order that today free Poland and the Soviet Union can advance confidently on the road of renewal and restructuring to new splendid landmarks. I want to assure you at this solemn moment that the Soviet people will always be true to the brotherhood-in-arms and friendship which were born in the battles for freedom. You can rely on the Soviet people. I wish you, citizens of Szczecin Voivodship, the achievement of new successes on this truly Polish soil which has been reborn by your labor, your hearts, your thoughts, to a new life for the benefit of Poles, for the benefit of socialist Poland. Thank you. [ened recording] [video shows Gorbachev receiving medal, then speaking, official group including Jaruzelski, Raisa, and Shevardnadze, and crowd]

Visits State Farm, Village

LD1407112388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0230 GMT 14 Jul 88

[From the "120 Minutes" program; report over video by "special correspondents" V. Lyubovtsev, T. Avtandilyan, and Yu. Kovalenko from Szczecin]

[Text] On Wednesday, 13 July, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited Szczecin Gumienice, a large fruit and vegetable combine. This multi-branch economic unit is well-known in Poland for both its production of livestock produce—milk and meat—and its high yields of grain, potatoes, and vegetables. The hothouses occupying an area of more than 25 hectares receive particular care. Cucumbers, tomatoes, cabbages, and flowers are being grown here. By the way, flowers from the Szczecin state farm are exported to the GDR, CSSR, and Scandinavian countries. Today Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited the Gumienice state farm. He familiarized himself with the farm whose staff have attained high labor performance and profitability. This enables the collective confidently to develop the social sphere, to build living accomodations, kindergartens, and schools. Comrade Gorbachev addressed those present with a short speech. [video shows vast hothouses, vegetation within; the Gorbachevs, Shevardnadze, Jaruzelski, and others being shown around; emerging from the hothouse Gorbachev is greeted by a small crowd waiting outside]

[Begin Gorbachev recording] I am from a peasant family myself. I have devoted many years to developing agriculture, and whenever I tour the country or go on business trips abroad and meet farm laborers, rural dwellers, or those working in agriculture and the agrarian sector, such meetings are always pleasant for me; not merely pleasant, but useful, too. In greeting you I greet those who feed all the people inhabiting our planet.

Polish peasants and rural dwellers know how to work. They already obtain good yields now; they produce a lot of livestock produce, master new technology, and this is good. Peasants actively support the political line of the PZPR and the state. This, comrades, is very important. We met workers at the shipyard and that was a marvelous meeting which showed that the working class is for the policy of socialist renewal. Then, the support of the working class and the peasants is present for the policy that the PZPR offers today to the people's Poland. We want to wish you success on this path, which is not an easy one. I think that if there is desire and support for this policy from the working class and the peasantry, this means that this is a people's policy designed for people and it will succeed. [applause] [end recording]

[Correspondent] Before leaving for Warsaw, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev visited the village of (Modrzejewo), near Szczecin, as a guest of Franciszek Bakan, a middle-income peasant [serednyak]. He is a member of the PZPR. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Franciszek Bakan had a lively exchange of views on the topical problems of agriculture. [video shows black cars on a highway; Bakan presenting Gorbachev with bread and salt; Gorbachev and Bakan on a walk followed by the retinue]

This middle-income Polish peasant has quite a large and prospering economy. His wife and three sons help him in his hard peasant work. The Bakans have 30 hectares of land and 24 dairy cows, and dairy husbandry is the speciality of their family farm. While visiting the farm, a friendly photograph was taken as a souvenir. [video shows crops, cattle, Gorbachev and the family group posing for a photographer]

[Begin Gorbachev recording] [video shows him addressing a group of villagers] You know, just start restructuring a farm—it is never an easy task. How about restructuring a whole country? Poland is big, but what about the Soviet Union? Therefore, you should not be afraid. We will pull through, we will overcome, but children [Gorbachev points at children standing beside him] will be growing up. And what else are we living for? We should have our share of living and do something that will remain on earth after us, and leave good legacy for the kids, too. I think that with such an approach we can cope with everything. Your state of mind convinces me even more that everything will be alright, everything will materialize. I wish you luck! [applause] [end recording]

Returns to Warsaw From Szczecin

LD1307211388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2050 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Jul (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is in Poland on an official friendly visit, and his wife, returned late tonight to Warsaw by a special aircraft from Szczecin. From Okecie Airport they went to the residence reserved for the high Soviet guest.

Addresses Polish Intellectuals

LD1407122388 Moscow TASS in English 1125 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 14 TASS—The world is at a watershed juncture in its development, Mikhail Gorbachev told Polish scientists and cultural workers here today.

"Our civilization is going through a very crucial phase since the entire, highly complex structure covering its material and spiritual fiber has been subjected to a real trial," he said.

The general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee explained that he was talking about the real threat of nuclear annihilation, about interdependence now felt in all parts of the world and about the need to solve global problems.

At this turning point in the development of human civilization, he added, a policy cannot be followed without grounding it on scientific knowledge and moral principles, which necessarily presupposes the participation of the intellectual forces of all nations.

Touching on the perestroyka (restructuring) drive in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev said its principal objective is to reveal the profound meaning and substance of the socialist system and make emphasis on human needs.

The gauge for perestroyka's achievements and setbacks should be the human factor, the Soviet leader stressed.

He called attention to the fact that through perestroyka society is being humanized.

"Pursuing this policy, we should remain on the firm ground of reality," Gorbachev added.

Commenting on the results of the 19th party conference in the Soviet Union, he said the main conclusion is that the people are solidly behind perestroyka and that more decisive action should be taken to translate the forum's decisions into reality.

Talks Begin in Warsaw

LD1407135788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1344 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Jul (TASS)—TASS special correspondents report:

Soviet-Polish talks began today in the PZPR Central Committee. Taking part in them are, from the Soviet side: M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister; V.A. Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials;

From the Polish side: W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR State Council; E. Messner, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers; J. Czyrek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; and other officials.

Comparison of Dinner Speech

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 12 July carries on page 5 the "text" of M. Gorbachev's speech at the 11 July Warsaw dinner in his honor. The TRYBUNA LUDU report, "Speeches at Solemn Dinner," has been compared with the Moscow PRAVDA version published in the 12 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 49-51, revealing the following variations:

Page 50, column two, paragraph eight, last line reads in TRYBUNA LUDU: "...many other aspects.

"It should be said in this connection that the West often views consent to such a one-sided approach as a kind of payment on our part for lowering the level of military confrontation.

"We view such approach as dishonest and prospectless. The..." (rewording)

West Europe

FRG's Genscher Backs Disarmament Moves

LD1107072888 Moscow TASS in English 0657 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 11 TASS—Appearing in the SDF's "Bonn Direkt" programme, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, spoke out in favour of the speediest finalisation of the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on a 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive arms and conclusion of an agreement on total ban on chemical weapons and on the elimination of their stocks. Hans-Dietrich Genscher came out in favour of completing as soon as possible the consultations in Vienna about the elaboration of a mandate for talks on a reduction in the troops and armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The minister's opinion is that the Soviet Union is sincerely interested in progress at talks on disarmament.

He recalled that the Soviet Union had positively reacted to the West's proposal on an exchange of data on correlation of forces between the two alliances in the field of conventional arms and the conduct of on-site inspections.

Further on Visit by FRG Bundesrat President

'Friendly' Talks With Dobrynin

PM1307133588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Developing Relations"]

[Text] On 11 July A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received B. Vogel, member of the Christian Democratic Union Presidium, president of the FRG Bundesrat, and prime minister of Rhineland-Palatinate, who is in Moscow at the invitation of the chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers.

Their discussion concerned the processes of restructuring in our country and the prospects for Soviet-West German relations. There was an exchange of opinions on Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's upcoming visit to the USSR.

The conversation was held in a friendly atmosphere.

Economic Ties Discussed

PM1407075188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Strengthening Contacts"]

[Text] On 12 July A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet side in the Soviet-FRG Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, received B. Vogel, chairman of the FRG Bundesrat and prime minister of the government of the Land of Rhineland-Palatinate, for talks. They exchanged opinions on questions of the development of Soviet-FRG economic ties.

Spain Increasing Budget for NATO Projects

LD0907100388 Moscow in Spanish to Spain 2100 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] The heads of the armaments departments of Spain and Great Britain have met in Madrid to study the state of bilateral and multilateral collaboration in this field. The delegations analyzed in particular the completion of the program for the creation of a new European fighter aircraft, as well as the program for the construction of a new submarine-hunting frigate to be included in the NATO arsenal. They also discussed the creation of the third generation of antitank weapons, on whose design Spain is actively collaborating.

The EFE news agency says that Spain is participating (?directly) in the project for the creation of the new European aircraft, which is also being developed by the FRG, Great Britain, and Italy.

Thus, Spain is participating more and more actively in the arms race. After joining the North Atlantic alliance it began to develop a wide range of military programs. Madrid has set aside 400 billion pesetas for the European fighter aircraft project alone. Last year the rearmament of the armed forces to Atlantic standards cost the country $1.5 billion.

Spain can expect even greater expenditure on arms. Spanish public opinion rightly asks if such an expenditure can be justified when the country has not resolved its economic problems and 3 million Spaniards do not have jobs.

Gorbachev Awarded Honorary Doctorate in Madrid

LD1207220488 Moscow TASS in English 2147 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Madrid July 13 TASS—TASS correspondent Robert Serebrennikov reports:

The autonomous University of Madrid has decided to confer on Mikhail Gorbachev the degree of Doctor Honoris Causa "out of recognition of his outstanding activity for the benefit of disarmament, detente and promotion of the development of safer and more equitable international relations".

The statement issued by the administration of one of the biggest universities of Spain also notes that the award of the highest academic degree to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee also means a "high appraisal of his initiatives for intellectual, social, economic and political renewal in his own country".

The administration of the autonomous University of Madrid expresses its "profound conviction that this work and efforts by Mikhail Gorbachev mean an irreversible beginning heralding an overall change of the tendencies operating to this day in the world and gave rise to hopes for the improvement of prospects for peace and flourishing of peoples".

Envoy Meets Pope in 'Private Audience'

LD1207163888 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Rome July 12 TASS—Pope John Paul II today allowed a "private audience" to the Soviet ambassador to Italy, Nikolay Lunkov, who "briefed him on the course and decisions of the national Communist Party conference in Moscow", the Vatican press department said.

It added that the conversation took place as part of a "courtesy visit" and provided "another opportunity for dialogue between the USSR and the Holy See".

Condolences Sent to Thatcher on Rig Disaster

PM1207154988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Sincere Sympathy"]

[Text] On 8 July the USSR Council of Ministers sent a telegram to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Great Britain, in which it expresses sincere sympathy in connection with the great loss of life caused by the explosion and fire on the oil rig in the North Sea. Profound condolences on behalf of the Soviet people and Government are conveyed to the families of the victims.

British Film on Latvian Nazi Collaborator

LD1007082488 Moscow TASS in English 0547 GMT 10 Jul 88

[From the "News From Soviet Baltic Republics" feature]

[Text] Riga July 10—By LATINFORM correspondent Liva Melnupite:

The bloody past of a Nazi collaborator has been reconstructed in a TV program shot by a camera crew from London's Thames Television in Latvia in the course of several days.

It was prompted by a lawsuit filed with a British court by Paul Reinhards, former director of the Department of Labor in occupied Latvia during World War II.

Currently the leader of Latvian emigres in Britain, he was enraged by an article in the SEARCHLIGHT magazine portraying him not as a respectable gentleman but as an inveterate Nazi criminal.

Reinhards, posing as an "adviser" to the Lettish emigres "government", described as "libel" the story saying he had ordered 280,000 people sent from Latvia to do forced labor in Germany, which for many of them was tantamount to a death sentence.

That was why Thames Television dispatched its reporters to Latvia to investigate the case, see documents testifying to the Nazi butcher's crimes and interview people who had witnessed the terrible atrocities of the occupation regime.

At the office of Latvia's public prosecutor the group were shown numerous orders signed by the former director of the labor department. Each of those documents decided the destiny of thousands of people.

Refusal to go to work in Germany meant execution by firing squad or imprisonment in concentration camps from where few people emerged alive.

Besides, Reinhards initiated the creation of a Jewish ghetto in Riga.

Izrail Glik, 77, and Ilya Heidets, 76, are among the few lucky survivors from that ghetto. "People would be shot on the spot for showing even the slightest sign of disobedience," they recalled.

"I had to visit homes and bring out the corpses of people starved to death, killed by diseases or shot dead. They kept dying but there was nobody to bury them," said Glik.

The Nazis turned a ravine in the Rumbul Forest into a mass grave. The British camera crew filmed also that place where 30,000 Jews, including some 6,000 children, lie buried.

Reinhards meticulously executed the instructions of Hitler's regional administrator Sauckel who was responsible for the use of manpower in captured territories.

What those instructions were like could be seen from the sentence of the international Nuremberg tribunal which condemned Sauckel to death by hanging.

But "Latvian Sauckel" still found it appropriate to strike the pose of injured innocence in response to the SEARCHLIGHT article. However, the film made by the British television network will bring to light some of the ominous details of his wartime activities.

Yakovlev Meets Italian Media Official

LD0907204488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Today Comrade Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received Manca, chairman of the Italian Radio and Television Agency [RAI], who is in the USSR on an official visit. Questions of Soviet-Italian cooperation in television and radio were discussed. Comrade Aksenov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio, and Comrade Vlaslov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, took part in the conversation, which was held in a warm, constructive atmosphere.

Cooperation Agreement Signed

LD1007211188 Rome International Service in Italian 1700 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Italian Radio and Television [RAI] Chairman Enrico Manca has completed his mission in Moscow. Our correspondent Antonio Anatoli reports from Moscow on the results:

[Anatoli] RAI Chairman Enrico Manca has ended his visit to the Soviet Union with a very positive balance sheet, made up of signed agreements and [word indistinct] political talks. The last talks were with Aleksandr Yakovlev, a Politburo member who is considered to be number two in the Communist Party. The domestic situation and Europe's role at this particular political juncture were the focus of the talks. Manca said he was struck by Yakovlev's determination, his open-mindedness, and his culture. As a staunch advocate of perestroyka, Yakovlev sincerely acknowledged that for now the new political course has only hit the tip of the iceberg; much remains to be done to reach deep into the people.

Chairman Manca also had other political talks in the Soviet capital with Zagladin and Falin, the NOVOSTI director. Before leaving Moscow Manca told Italian correspondents about the positive outcome of his mission. RAI and Soviet Television signed a new agreement on major cooperation between the two organizations. It provides, among other things, for cooperation in the fields of programming and advertising and the possibility of commercializing programs abroad. Possibilities for sponsorship have also been included. The possibility of having first choice in the purchase of the two countries' respective television programs has also been acknowledged. The agreement provides for nascent cooperation in the sphere of radio as well. [passage omitted]

Trade Union Delegation's Swiss Visit Reviewed

PM1307152588 Moscow TRUD in Russian 10 Jul 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Broad Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] Bern, 9 Jul—A Soviet trade union delegation headed by AUCCTU Secretary V.P. Provotorov was in Switzerland 4-9 July. During talks with representatives of the Association of Swiss Trade Unions, there was an exchange of opinions on a wide range of questions: the trade unions of working people of the USSR and Switzerland, their participation in social, public, and economic life, and international problems. The need was stressed to galvanize the trade unions' activity with a view to attaining lasting peace on earth, the halting of the arms race, and disarmament.

Latin America & Caribbean

Akhromeyev Meets With Fidel Castro in Havana

LD1307142988 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Havana July 13 TASS—Cuban leader Fidel Castro has received Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff and first deputy defence minister of the USSR, on an official friendly visit here.

In the conversation, held in a friendly, fraternal atmosphere characteristic of relations between the two countries, the sides discussed issues of mutual interest.

The discussion was attended by General of the Army Raul Castro, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, first deputy chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers and minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, and Division General Abelardo Colome Ibarra, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and first deputy minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Further on Visit

For Havana reportage on the visit to Cuba by Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Fedorovich Akhromeyev, first deputy minister of the USSR Ministry of Defense and chief of the Armed Forces General Staff, including his talks with Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] and president of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers, and Raul Castro, second secretary of the PCC and minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, see the Cuba subsection of the Caribbean section of the 12 July Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Further on Nicaragua-U.S. Diplomatic Rift

'Diplomatic War' Viewed

LD1307151788 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Mikhail Mayorov commentary]

[Text] The sharp worsening of relations between the United States and Nicaragua has become a major story by news agencies. The Nicaraguan Government has expelled the U.S. Ambassador Richard Melton and seven other American diplomats, who are accused of interference in the country's internal affairs and of inciting antigovernment actions.

In his turn President Reagan has announced the expulsion from the United States of the Nicaraguan Ambassador Carlos Tunnerman and seven other Nicaraguan diplomats. These events are regarded by some as a sort of diplomatic war, writes our commentator Mikhail Mayorov. This definition may be applied to the events but a diplomatic war by itself, dramatic as it might be, does not really give a full picture of the sources of the current tension in relations between the two countries.

Yes indeed, it was not simple for the Sandinist leadership to take the decision about a whole group of American diplomats headed by Ambassador Melton. Some quarters, in particular the White House and the U.S. State Department, claim the first step in this diplomatic confrontation was taken in Managua. But these events did not start off all of a sudden out of nowhere. The diplomatic war was preceded by a large-scale undeclared war against Nicaragua by Washington. To be more precise the diplomatic war is no more than a component of real war. This is what is actually happening.

To complete the picture one must say that Nicaragua lived through several disturbing days before this decision to expel American diplomats. As a matter of fact, the Sandinist government has been doing its best to put out the flames of war. It honestly acted on its pledges under a peace plan signed in Guatemala last year by five presidents of Central American countries. Thousands of prisoners have been released. A dialogue has started between the government and all the political parties. The first rounds of talks have been held with the leaders of the contras within the policy for national reconciliation. The Sandinist leadership has unilaterally proclaimed a temporary cease-fire.

What is Washington's reaction? Well, it has rejected a dialogue with Managua and has tried with some success to break the dialogue between the warring sides. It has incited the contras to escalate hostilities and whip up antigovernment actions by the inner Nicaraguan opposition.

These are the main reasons for the current worsening of relations between Nicaragua and the United States. Could it have been avoided? Yes, it could. It would have been enough for both sides, not just for one of them, to show good will and realism in their approach to a settlement in Central America, ruling out elements of hostility and confrontation in bilateral relations. But unfortunately, the opposite has taken place.

U.S. Action 'Illegal'

LD1307153988 Moscow TASS in English 1403 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Managua July 13 TASS—TASS correspondent A. Kurguzov reports:

The decision of the Nicaraguan revolutionary government to expell from the country U.S. Ambassador Richard Melton and seven other U.S. diplomats for interference in the internal affairs of the republic met with a broad support of the Nicaraguan public and media. On board a plane of a private U.S. air company those diplomats left for the United States today. Before departure, Richard Melton circulated a written communique of the U.S. Embassy containing direct threats toward the Sandinist government.

The Nicaraguans express support for the government's decision since it is called upon to put an end to the contacts of ultraright oppositional political parties with the U.S. Embassy which has actually become a centre for plotting anti-government conspiracies. The newspaper BARRICADA sums up the government's decision on the expulsion of U.S. diplomats who grossly interfered in the country's affairs as a "balanced, firm and lawful" decision. The newspaper's editorial says that this step meets with Nicaraguans' aspirations to achieve independence and national sovereignty. By expelling U.S. diplomats from the country, Nicaragua does not sever diplomatic relations with the United States, but demands that these relations develop on a basis of mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, BARRICADA writes.

President of Nicaragua's National Assembly Carlos Nunez proclaimed the government's resolve to protect the constitutional order against the attacks of internal counterrevolution. In an interview to Radio Sandino he said that with the use of ultraright parties Washington intends to turn political struggle into an instrument of overthrowing the revolutionary government.

Nicaragua's President Daniel Ortega sharply condemned Washington's retaliatory sanctions with regard to Nicaragua's Ambassador to the USA Carlos Tunnermann. President Reagan yesterday ordered that the Nicaraguan ambassador, as well as seven other Nicaraguan diplomats be expelled from the USA. Washington's actions are absolutely illegal as Carlos Tunnermann is concurrently Nicaragua's representative in the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States, Daniel Ortega said. The United States tries to decide who should be Nicaragua's representative in the Organization of American States. Nicaragua rejects these attempts and if necessary will convene the Permanent Council of that organization to protect the interests of the Organization of American States, the president said. If a concession is made to the USA, Latin American countries will be rolled back to the times when the Organization of American States was a ready tool of the USA, Daniel Ortega said.

Nicaragua's Ramirez Holds Brussels News Briefing

U.S. Responsible for Tension

LD1307192288 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] Brussels July 13 TASS—Visiting Nicaraguan Vice-President Sergio Ramirez held the United States wholly responsible for the growing tension in his country at a news conference here.

Escalating U.S. interference in Nicaragua's affairs, he said, has confronted its government with the need to declare the U.S. ambassador and seven other American diplomats in Managua persona non grata.

The government has done so, Ramirez emplained, to protect national interests, preserve the country's territorial integrity and prevent the situation from going still worse.

Answering questions from reporters, he said the Nicaraguan Government intends to use all possibilities to continue talks with contra representatives towards an agreemement on a final ceasefire.

Comments on Cease-Fire

LD1207222788 Moscow TASS in English 2115 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Brussels July 12 TASS—TASS correspondent Leonid Timofeyev reports:

"The United States is fully responsible for the heightening of tension in Nicaragua". Vice President of the Republic of Nicaragua Sergio Ramirez Mercado, on a working visit in the Belgian capital, said this at a news conference here.

Answering questions from newsmen he noted that the agreement on partial ceasefire signed on March 23, 1988 by President of Nicaragua Daniel Ortega and representatives of the opposition is not an absolutely reliable document, but the Nicaraguan Government will exert every effort to continue the talks till the end of the current year. He also said that Nicaragua is the only country fulfilling its obligations in accordance with a peace plan signed last year in Guatemala. Ramirez Mercado noted this is confirmed by the amnesty with regard to a thousand of prisoners, the restoration of dialogue with all political parties. The Commission for National Reconciliation headed by Archbishop of Managua Miguel Obando y Bravo continues functioning, while it ceased to exist in other Central American countries, the Nicaraguan vice president said.

Nicaraguan Defense Minister on Contra Talks

LD1307192488 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Havana July 13 TASS—The U.S. Administration's recent steps attest to its direct interest in the continuation of the conflict in Nicaragua and in the whole of Central America, said Umberto Ortega, Nicaragua's defence minister, in an interview with the Cuban LA BOHEMIA magazine. Ortega pointed out that during the latest round of talks with the Government of Nicaragua, disrupted by the contras, the leaders of the counter-revolution reneged on the early agreements on a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the country. They clearly did it on instructions from the White House.

Signed in the Nicaraguan settlement of Sapoa last March, the agreement is a step toward a ceasefire in the country, disarming the contras formations and establishment of peace in Nicaragua, the minister said. It is precisely for this reason that the agreement is not acceptable to Washington which persists in its attempts to strangle the Nicaraguan revolution.

Referring to the possibility of starting fresh negotiations with the contras, Umberto Ortega said that the Nicaraguan Government's position on this score remains unchanged: any dialogue must be based on the strict observance of the peace agreements reached in Sapoa. The Sandinist government is making every effort to continue the process of national reconciliation, the Nicaraguan defence minister said.

Political & Social

Further on Nagorno-Karabakh Secession Decision

Azerbaijan on Secession

NC1407071088 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0340 GMT 14 Jul 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] A session of the Soviet of People's Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] was held on 12 July. In this connection, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a resolution that is published in today's newspapers. Specifically, it states:

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium notes that despite the resolutions of 13 and 17 June of this year that had been adopted by the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium on the basis of Articles 78 of the USSR Constitution and Article 70 of the Azerbaijan SSR, which underlined the unanimity with which the sovereign will of the people of the Azerbaijan SSR had been expessed with regard to the unaceptability and the impossibility of transfering the NKAO from the structure of the Azerbaijan SSR, the oblast's soviet of people's deputies, contrary to the fact that the given question falls outside the competence of the autonomous oblast and is a prerogative of the soviet republic and its highest ogans of state power, at its session on 13 July—and with the absence of a significant number of deputies—illegally raised the question of leaving the structure of the Azerbaijan SSR.

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium stresses that the oblast's Soviet of People's Deputies failed to insure the strict observance of the principles of legality on the obligation placed by decisions of organs of higher standing over those of a lower standing, and openly defied the national state system of the republic established by the USSR and Azerbaijan SSR Constitutions. This inflicts serious damage on the process of perestroyka in the region and diverts the working people from the solution of urgent tasks in the oblast's socioeconomic development.

In this regard, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has proclaimed as illegal the resolution of the session of the NKAO Soviet of People's Deputies on the unilateral removal of the oblast from the structure of the Azerbaijan SSR, and it has repealed it on the basis of the relevant articles of the Constitutions of the USSR and the Azerbaijan SSR, and the law of the Azerbaijan SSR on the NKAO.

Decision Deemed Illegal

LD1307203888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On the day of the Nagorno-Karabakh oblast soviet session, our special correspondent talked with the oblast procurator, (Vladimir Vladimirovich Vasilenko):

[Begin (Vasilenko) recording] What I will now say I wanted to say at today's session of the oblast soviet of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Incidentally, I am the only one of the speakers who did not manage to express his opinion, and not only his opinion but to bring to the attention of the deputies the requirements of the law, in particular the USSR Constitution and the laws on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The USSR Constitution, in particular Article 4 of the USSR Constitution, clearly states that the Soviet state and all its bodies function on the basis of socialist legality. The oblast soviet of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast is such a body, and unquestionably all its decisions must be in accordance with the law.

In particular, the decision of today's session in the form in which it was couched, namely the proclamation of the secession of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from the Azerbaijan SSR, does not stand up to criticism from the point of view of the law. According to the USSR Constitution, Article 87 and also Article 83 of the Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR, the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast forms part of the Azerbaijan SSR. This requirement is fixed in the Constitution firmly and unambiguously. In this way, the decison of today's session proclaiming the secession of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast contradicts the requirements both of the USSR Constitution and of the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution.

Apart from that, the decision of the session was made in violation of the law on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast which was confirmed on representation (?by another) session of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast; in particular there was a violation of the authority of the soviet envisioned by the law mentioned. The decision of today's session proclaiming the secession of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from the Azerbaijan SSR in essence also contradicts Articles 152 and 159 of the Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR which directly say that the state plan for economic and social development is the single one for the republic of which autonomous oblasts form part; also the budget of the oblast forms an integral part of the budget of the Azerbaijan SSR. In this way a number of articles have been violated, both of the USSR Constitution and of the Azerbaijan SSR, regulating economic relations between oblast and republic.

The speeches of individual deputies, in particular Comrade (Adelamyan), expressed the thought that the decision being made on the secession of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from the Azerbaijan SSR contradicts the requirements of the Constitution. Notwithstanding, this deputy proposed voting for precisely that decision. [end recording]

Weapons, Ammunition Confiscated

LD1307185388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 13 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] According to a report from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Internal Affairs Administration, militia bodies have recently uncovered instances of acquisition and manufacture of various types of weapons, explosives, and munitions by individuals. Since 15 June, 12 hand grenades, 40 S-1 imitation grenades with live primers, 9 pistols, 2 Nagant revolvers, 2 sawn-off shotguns, 12 rifles and shotguns, as well as 200 rounds of machinegun ammunition and 600 rounds of ammunition for small-caliber and hunting weapons, have been confiscated here. Militia employees are conducting investigations into all these cases.

Background to Nagorno-Karabakh Strife Recounted

PM1307122188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Special correspondent A. Sabirov article: "NKAO: The Bitter Fruit of Stagnation"]

[Text] Baku-Stepanakert-Yerevan-Moscow—Events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh have affected many people. The situation has become complicated in dozens of cities and rural rayons in the Transcaucasus. But hundreds of thousands of Armenians and Azerbaijanis still live as neighbors and work shoulder to shoulder there. There is much in the customs of both peoples that firmly bonds people together.

Unfortunately, real contacts have started weakening. This is a reflection of distortions in our social development. But mistakes or distortions do not occur automatically; they are by no means unattributable. In trying to understand the causes, one naturally asks: Who actually were those who acted (or failed to act, as the case may be)?

Eyewitnesses recall that B. Kevorkov's appearance in Nagorno-Karabakh as party obkom first secretary coincided with the time of the completion of the oblast airport's reconstruction. The only thing left to do was to cut the red ribbon and applaud. But Boris Sarkisovich felt as if he were taking off not so much at the landing strip as in life in general.

And why should he not feel this! He effortlessly moved from university to Komsomol posts and advanced rapidly. Soon enough the young functionary was admitted to the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. He was promoted further and became party raykom first secretary.

Very few people knew Kevorkov in the autonomous oblast, but he immediately became the center of attention: After only 2-3 months there as first secretary he was awarded an order for "increasing the production and sale to the state of grain and vegetables."

Some 6 years later, a central publication reminiscent of a beautiful confectionery wrapper in form and content, carried an article entitled "We From Karabakh" and reported: "How did the new obkom secretary begin? He ensured that the city finally acquired a piped water supply and started rapidly building new residential districts. He obtained a gas supply, and a gas pipeline branch now stretches to Shusha. Yak-40's started landing at Stepanakert Airport. He traveled to the Ministry of Railways in Moscow and 'got out of them' a railroad for Nagorno-Karabakh...."

But what is the situation now, when the country is forced to allocate hundreds of millions of rubles to meet the most urgent needs of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]? Judge for yourselves. Running water is available in apartments for just 1-2 hours per day—so much for the piped water supply.

In "gross" terms, the economic growth is impressive. No joking: The volume of industrial output in NKAO has trebled over the last three 5-year plan periods (even though the region remains agrarian). But what is the quality of these indicators?

"The silk combine is our largest enterprise," weaver G. Beglaryan says. "It has not fulfilled its plans for almost 10 years now. We have forgotten what a "13th month" [end-of-year bonus] looks like."

Take the construction industry for example. The allocated capital investment sums were never fully assimilated during the eighties. Last year, for example, assimilation was only 66.7 percent. Nevertheless, a faster pace was reported. The sales plan, taking deliveries into account, was fulfilled 97.7 percent. But it appears that there were above-plan sales amounting to R26.6 million. Milk production fell by 663 tonnes, but the amount delivered was 467 tonnes above set targets.

Alas, clever accounting does not create additional housing, nor does it feed and clothe people. The footwear factory excels in producing rejects. Bakeries produce bread of indifferent quality. The dairy products situation is not good. Meat and milk are rationed—in an agrarian oblast where the rural population predominates. About one-half of the rural population do not keep cows, while one yard in every three is altogether without livestock.

Look at the reports over the years and you will see nothing but a land of milk and honey. Window dressing could not have failed to produce protest and criticism. But the first secretary could not stand criticism.

"Kevorkov relied mainly on toadies and flatterers," 51 party veterans write in the newspaper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH, "and he persecuted those who either tried to contradict him or disagreed with his view." "Soon enough Kevorkov created in the oblast an atmosphere which claimed many honest people as its victims," according to the former party obkom secretary, M. Gasparyan.

It is naive to "attribute" all this to nothing but personal qualities. Power is not exercised in a vacuum, no, not in a vacuum.

"Questions of consolidating law and order and improving the work of law enforcement organs were always on our agenda," Kevorkov was to say during a conversation with me. But the words recorded on tape are separated by pauses. What do these tedious pauses conceal?

"At the slightest contradiction, 'himself' heaped foul-mouthed abuse on people," Communist L. Agamyan writes to IZVESTIYA. "While working in the party obkom, and later on in the oblast potrebsoyuz, I clashed with him on many occasions. Especially toward the end, since the first secretary was driven by a mania for distributing goods in short supply straight from the warehouse. I paid a heavy price for this. I was arrested on the basis of a false accusation in January 1986. Wallpaper was stripped off, furniture was smashed to pieces, everything was turned upside down while my apartment was searched. Not only members of my family, including those living in Baku, but even totally unconnected people with the same surname were searched. I was locked up in the temporary detention jail where I spent 5 months. By the fall the local prosecutor's office cobbled together a charge and the oblast court, closing its eyes to the blatant violations, sentenced me to 11 years deprivation of freedom with confiscation of property. I sat behind bars until January 1987, when the Azerbaijan Supreme Court repealed this wrong decision. Afterwards the republic Prosecutor's Office closed the case altogether."

Even while the investigation was still in progress, Kevorkov repeatedly held forth from important rostrums about the criminal Agamyan. But he shut up completely once the latter had been released, as if he had not been expelled from the party or sacked as oblast soviet deputy. The former prisoner was without work for almost 6 months. He was ultimately paid for 18 months' leave of absence, but that came from the state's pocket and not from the pockets of specific culprits.

Yes, the CPSU Obkom Bureau regularly examined questions of the observance of legality. But hundreds of reported breaches went unanswered. Numerous cases were either dropped or altogether closed. There were some extremely strange cases. For example, Investigator V. Israyelyan covered up 11 criminal cases. The leadership was forced to officially admit the "passiveness, lack of principle, and fruitlessness" of work by the oblast prosecutor's office.

Specialists have yet to analyze the state of legality in this region. But people perceived that the wave of violations which developed during the stagnation period persisted into the restructuring period through the effect of inertia.

Early January this year. A party obkom plenum was held in Stepanakert according to well-prepared plans, even though some democratic trappings were present. The audience was listening to the main speaker who had grown accustomed over a period of 14 years and more to playing this role. The words were correct: "To conduct an open dialogue with Communists...." "To overcome bureaucratism and abuse of power.... We must begin with ourselves...." But who was uttering them? That same Kevorkov!

How was this to be understood? Was he to lead the restructuring? The people were yearning for renewal. People were speaking out more boldly, aloud. K. Demirchyan was already coming under criticism in Armenia.

But while reading page after page, the speaker did not notice the mistrustful looks. He uttered standard phrases about the friendship of peoples and "individual ideologically immature people affected by nationalist prejudices." Even though he should have known better than anyone else the ferment that had gripped the NKAO population. He knew that lobbyists were going to Moscow one after the other, that letters were being sent there in their hundreds and thousands, accusing him, Kevorkov, either directly or indirectly of distorting the nationalities policy.

An Armenian national, he behaved quite strangely toward nationalities problems from the first day he set foot in Nagorno-Karabakh: He even banned party workers from... taking trips to Yerevan. It has already been announced in the press that theater and variety tours and meetings with writers, artists, and academics were reduced to a minimum. The reception of Yerevan television programs was deliberately held up for years and years.

"Why was it necessary, for instance, to remove the word 'Armenian' from the name of the theater?" Sh. Petrosyan, acting chairman of the oblispolkom, asked in indignation. "A quite futile hullabaloo was also started around the monument 'Us and our Mountains.'"

The former Amaras Monastery. People assert that in the early 5th century Mesrop Mashtots, the founder of Armenian literature, organized the first school here. A wonderful monument in a state of total neglect. The 13th-century Gandzasar Monastery on a mountaintop near the village of Vank is also in a sorry state. The label "nationalist" could have been earned for any attempt to show concern for the monuments.

The Museum of Regional Studies in Stepanakert has been under lock and key for almost 5 years. Then, following instructions from the first secretary, the city authorities expelled children and adolescents from the chess club, where it was proposed to open... a Palace of Peoples' Friendship. Obviously to confirm that "the obkom's clear political stance and its organizational functions are displayed most graphically in its work on the international education of working people." But the oblast was already confronted with impending events.

Collectives began to meet, citizens began to assemble, and rural soviet sessions were held in some areas. Life put to the test the firmness of party committees' ties with the masses. People expected that they would come to them, listen to them, and convince them. But the leadership of the oblast and its party organization were not ready for this. And yet there is one obkom, one gorkom, and five party raykoms, plus many other organs and organizations for the population of 180,000 inhabiting the compact territory of Nagorno-Karabakh.

"What was previously done in such cases? That's very simple," Kevorkov admitted. "Party reprimands were issued and people were dismissed...."

Yes, that was permitted then. But different times have arrived and he didn't know how to do anything in the new fashion. An attempt to hold two or three meetings ended in failure: People didn't want to hear any more vacuous speeches.

"After the first demonstration, which took most leaders unawares, a spasmodic quest began for a way out of the critical situation," G. Melkumyan, second secretary of Stepanakert Gorkom, said. "An entire day was spent in agitated discussion and trying to apportion blame, but late in the evening undisguised threats were heard from Kevorkov and other people: If the unrest is repeated tommorrow, it will be impossible to predict the consequences. It was even hinted that "100,000 fanatics" may enter the city and so on. What was to be done? Approximately 750 people were summoned to the gorkom during the night, ranging from general directors to chairmen of residents' committees. With others, I myself went round to their apartments. At approximately 0400 hours, run off our feet and worn out, we sent a collective telegram to Moscow. What did it say? That Stepanakert was threatened by political carnage."

This turbulent night only whipped up the tension. The tightly wound spring of the conflict began to rapidly uncoil. Rayon soviet sessions were held during the week. And 87 deputies demanded that an extraordinary session of the oblast soviet be held. Kevorkov, a member of the oblispolkom, appeared at the session 20 February for the first time (!) in all those years. But this was the only comic episode in the dramatic action. The soviet's party group did not support the opinion that the session should be postponed. Exhortations from K. Bagirov, former first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, also proved useless. Having discussed the only question on the agenda, 111 of the deputies present (there were 150 in total, the Azerbaijani deputies did not attend the session) voted to request that Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast to be transferred from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR.

Readers are aware of what happened next from reports in the press and television programs. Impatience became intolerance. Intolerance led to most profound turmoil and began to pose a most serious threat to the entire all-union process of democratization and restructuring. A failure to realize this fact is possible only if people are very determined to disregard the facts. However, there was an abundance of such a determination: Some people seemed to turn a deaf ear to the Appeal of M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the Peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia and to the major party and government decisions regarding the rapid development of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Let us think for a moment: Is it really only a question of interethnic relations, however urgent, complex, and sensitive they may be? Ordinary workers, both Armenians and Azerbaijanis, least of all have anything to gain from quarrels and suffer the most as a result of such quarrels. Can anyone really fail to realize that a just solution can only be elaborated by democratic means? However, people who are accustomed to flout legality, who are clinging to their posts, and—which is cunning—fearing that they will be exposed in the light of glasnost have not hightailed anywhere from here. Doesn't it look as though these people, representing a definite force, are endeavoring to parry a crushing blow using any methods and resources they please? Didn't they make a "smart move" when they exploited long smoldering problems and channeled people's discontent into the interethnic confrontation and all kinds of incidents in this field? Their calculation was a simple one: The more fiercely passions are heated and the worse the situation, the better for them—while the dust is settling, perhaps, it will be possible to cover their tracks and evade responsibility and, possibly, people won't manage to do without "us" either.

That is why Kevorkov sat so tight in his chair. Certainly the wording used when the announcement was made that he had been relieved of his post was extremely, and this must be pointed out, lenient. Only after the change of leadership in Azerbaijan (and in Armenia at the same time) was he expelled from the party. Here his lawyer's diploma came in kind of useful—it helped to fix him up at the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Justice as chief of the department for generalizing judicial practice and statistics. Cadres like that are thin on the ground—a USSR

Supreme Soviet deputy bearing the gleaming orders on his breast—without quotemarks—two Orders of Lenin, two Orders of the Labor Red Banner, and the Order of Peoples' Friendship!

But the situation that has taken shape in the oblast is such that even today the party organization cannot extricate it from the crisis.

It is, of course, not only a matter of the millions of rubles of damage caused by the long strike, although you and I don't have any spare millions. But can the wealth that is the friendship of the peoples be compared even with billions? No, we cannot in any way make up for the ideological overreporting and other overreporting and the actions which helped kindle interethnic dissension.

But how can we nonetheless cross the abyss to which the extensive large-scale window-dressing has brought us? Now that the 19th party conference has outlined political guidelines and has, in particular, approved the proposal to hold a Central Committee plenum on the nationalities issue, the most important thing is to rally round the tasks of restructuring and pool the efforts of its supporters, wherever they may live and whatever nation or ethnic group they may belong to.

National aspirations cannot be implemented in any other way or by any other means.

Armenian Advocates 'Rewording' Constitution

NC1407105588 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 14 Jul 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] The basic law of the USSR must be reworded. This is the opinion of many working people, organizations, social groups, and competent specialists. The paper carries an article by Khachatryan, candidate of jurisprudence, entitled: Constitution and Reality. The resolution of the 19th all-union party conference on legal reform, he writes, deems it expedient in the near future to work out and implement a concrete plan of action for carrying out legal reform in our country. It seems to me, he states, that the cornerstone of this reform must be the rewording of the USSR Constitution.

The author submits a number of proposals on perfecting and making more precise several of the sections and articles of the Constitution. He mentions in particular Section Three, which consolidates the national state system of the USSR. In its fundamental features this section preserves the principles and statutes worked out at the time of the formation of the USSR in 1922. However, the recent opening up of the possibility of examining reality more closely, as well as recent events in various national republics, particularly in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it, point to the fact that, both in the overall state of inter-national relations and in their constitutional consolidation, there are problems that interfere with bringing the peoples of the USSR closer together and with strengthening their unity, friendship, and fraternal cooperation. For example, one factor that hampers the further successful development of the USSR as a united federal state is the absence of a constitutional mechanism to democratically settle possible controversial questions in republican relations, both between each other and with organs of the USSR.

It makes sense, proposes the author, to provide for, as an exceptional means, the possibility of temporarily but directly subordinating individual autonomous entities to the highest organs of the USSR if difficult problems arise in their relations with a union republic. This would allow a calm search for solutions to the problems. In the created acute situation, such a method could be employed in relation to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast until the just settlement of the unification of the oblast with the Armenian SSR.

One should not believe, stresses the author, that questions arranging the life of various peoples, settled under a particular set of historical conditions, cannot find a solution under different conditions. One must take into consideration the dialectics of the development of the historical process.

Further on Unrest Situation in Armenian Cities

Yerevan Remains Tense

PM1307135588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

["Own Information" report under the rubric "Stop Press": "Yerevan, 12 July"]

[Text] The city's work rhythm is once again being disrupted. Collectives at a number of enterprises are not working or are working not at full strength, and transport is only partly operating. People react with heightened sensitivity to the least event. And it is hard to say whose statement, which action by the authorities, which television broadcast or newspaper article has become an "argument" in favor of continuing the strike.

Be that as it may, today is unlike yesterday. Even though on Monday, as the republic State Committee for Statistics reported, there was a shortfall in output to the tune of R3.7 million.

A. Nikolayev, USSR senior assistant general prosecutor, appeared on local television today. An investigation is being conducted into the circumstances connected with the work stoppage at Zvartnots Airport. A. Nikolayev called for calm, prudence, considered actions, and assistance in establishing the truth.

Party and soviet organizations are making efforts to normalize the situation in the republic. A conference has been held at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and demanded that leaders at all levels take urgent measures to arrange the working of labor collectives, make up for lost time, and ensure the fulfillment of plan targets and contract deliveries.

The conference was addressed by S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

An evening rally has once again been scheduled in Yerevan. Tension is not subsiding.

The newspaper KOMMUNIST has carried comments on the speech which S. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered on Armenian television Saturday.

Hero of Socialist Labor A. Minasyan, machine operator on Akhuryanskiy Rayon's Kirov Kolkhoz: "It is time to sober up. We must all think seriously about the events of recent days. Who has been given the right to cast aspersions on our people's irreproachable reputation, built up over the centuries? Who is permitted to divert our people from the course of restructuring?"

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences B. Garibdzhanyan: "When passions were inflamed to the utmost, for some reason the people were not attended by honest, bold individuals capable of restraining young people from rash actions which had sad consequences. And where were those people who until recently had been presenting and receiving challenge red banners and making loud speeches to a somnolent audience?! Was it not they who created the impression that a healthy moral and political atmosphere reigned in the republic, closing their eyes to such ugly phenomena as bribery and favoritism?!"

In the same newspaper for 10 July R. Mkhitaryan, chairman of Artashatskiy Rayispolkom, writes: "Restructuring has overt and covert enemies. Any destabilization of the situation plays into their hands. In order to prolong their life and draw a veil over phenomena such as red tape, favoritism, bribery, and corruption, antirestructuring forces are prepared to undertake any provocation. Meanwhile, only restraint, prudence, and patience must determine our life today, when we all await solutions on the basis of the principles of Lenin's nationalities policy."

Yerevan Situation 13 Jul

PM1407102588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

[PRAVDA special correspondent S. Oganyan dispatch under the rubric "Stop Press": "Yerevan, 13 July"]

[Text] Gortsadul... Today this is one of the most widely-used words in the lexicon of the people of Yerevan. Gortsadul means strike. Some people support it, others—they are at present in the minority—condemn it as an unacceptable method of resolving problems. But at any rate this subject is the main one in Armenia today. The "Polivinilatsetat" Plant is one of the few enterprises in the republic where work has not stopped for virtually a day.

"It was difficult for the collective to maintain the normal working rhythm," V. Dayan, director of the enterprise, said, "despite the fact that 95 percent of the workers did not support the idea of a strike. There were attempts from outside to stop the plant. But even during the dramatic days of 5-6 July, when the events at Zvartnots Airport took place, our workers were self-possessed and remained cool-headed and ensured regular deliveries of our output to all the country's republics and abroad. We believe that only in this way, that is by strictly fulfilling contracted deliveries and by strengthening economic ties between the country's various regions, will we strengthen the prestige of the Armenian people and ensure conditions for the comprehensive examination of the Karabakh problem."

"People at the country's automobile plants are awaiting our 'butvel' film—it is used in manufacturing windshields," K. Galfayan, leader of the state acceptance service, said. "Or take vinyl acetate: It is used in the furniture and food industries, the construction industry, and in electronics. Can what the enterprise makes under the consumer goods program—linoleum, automobile mats, polyethylene bags, and tablecloths—be described as luxuries? People need all this!"

Today S. Artyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, met with the enterprise collective. He expressed gratitude to the workers and employees for the self-possession shown during these difficult days for the republic and recalled that, as a result of the blockade of Zvartnots Airport, 39,000 people—including women, children, and invalids—were unable to leave various cities... Now this incident is being thoroughly investigated. The culprits will be punished. We must remember, S. Artyunyan stressed, that our every step must be commensurate with the honor of our people. These words met with understanding from the meeting's participants.

At the same time the situation in the republic remains tense. Since the beginning of the strike there has been a shortfall of R40 million worth of output. Construction and installation work worth R18 million has not been carried out. This means that many sociocultural and consumer facilities have not been commissioned and hundreds of different types of consumer goods have not been produced.

R. Mkhitaryan, chairman of the Artashatskiy Rayispolkom, wrote in KOMMUNIST of 10 July: "Restructuring has overt and covert opponents. Any destabilization of the situation serves their purpose. Antirestructuring forces are ready for any provocation in order to prolong their life and draw a veil over such phenomena as bureaucratism, protectionism, bribery, and corruption. At the same time only self-possession, prudence, and patience should determine our life today, when we are all awaiting a solution based on the principles of Lenin's nationalities policy."

'Complex' Leninakan Situation

PM1407103988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 14 Jul 88 p 4

[Special correspondent Yu. Petrov dispatch: "Common Sense Should Be the Yardstick"]

[Text] Leninakan—What is happening nowadays in Leninakan, Armenia's second largest city?

Here, just like in Yerevan, the situation is changing every day: If tension in the republic capital eased, it would immediately also ease in Leninakan.

Rallies are held only before or after working hours. The strike started a few days later than in Yerevan, but the damage it has caused is already known: Output worth almost R4 million has not been produced. True enough, deliveries outside the republic are being met, but mainly from existing stocks which are running out. The city's residents are promising to make up the lag in the future....

Accompanied by staffers from the republic trade union council, I attended one of the rallies. Several thousands had gathered by the drama theater and listened to speakers. Some were more attentive than others, since the speakers essentially repeated: The solution of the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh and of other questions connected with it must be expedited.... A monument to those who died in Sumgait was unveiled at the rally.

Several enterprises were idle in Leninakan on Tuesday 12 July, but public transport and trade and public catering enterprises worked without disruptions. On Wednesday the majority of labor collectives reported for work.

The collective of the Ministry of Light Industry's "Shirak" Combine was one of them. Its workers are in favor of a speedier solution to Nagorno-Karabakh's problems. "I am casting my vote in favor of this through my work; the loom must not lie idle"—this was the way weaver and Communist A. Zakaryan expressed her stance. Weaver L. Akopyan, without abandoning her work, asks that attention be given to housing problems which have been aggravated as a result of the need to provide accommodation for immigrants [pereselenets] from Sumgait.

We were told at the gorispolkom: The housing question will be basically solved by the end of this year—a long time ago the combine contributed money for joint construction projects. There will be greater opportunities for social development: Last year the enterprise was unprofitable, but this year, operating on full economic accountability, it is making payments to the budget and has earned significant profits. It is thus disadvantageous for people to strike.

The same decision was made by workers in the footwear factory, where the labor collective council decided to resolve the question of whether to continue participating in the strike or not. A secret ballot showed that the overwhelming majority were in favor of starting work the very next day, at 0600.

I think that this ballot also proved that deep down many workers were against the strike and in favor of solving Nagorno-Karabakh's problems in a calm atmosphere. They are against the economic aggravation of the problems. After all, as we were told at the gorispolkom, bank deposits by enterprises have declined by two-thirds and this creates difficulties with wage payments.

This summer has seen market prices leap, creating complications in food supplies for the population. And even though advocates of the strike are suggesting at rallies that price control should be introduced, it is obvious to everyone that prices are determined by the availability of goods. And goods have to be produced.

The situation in Leninakan is complex, but one would like to believe that a common sense approach toward the situation which is developing will nevertheless prevail.

TASS Correction on NKAO Secession Decision

The following correction pertains to the item entitled "Azerbaijan Rejects NKAO Secession Decision" published in column one on page 55 of the 13 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

Moscow TASS in English at 1531 GMT on 13 July transmits a "corrected version" of the above item amending it as follows:

Column one, first paragraph, last line, corrected version reads: "...secession from Azerbaijan. Of the soviet's 150 delegates only 101 attended the session.

"The Soviet of..." (adding sentence)

Police Fail To Break Lithuania Demonstration

AU1307181488 Paris AFP in English 1802 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 13 (AFP)—Soviet police were unable to prevent a demonstration on Tuesday at the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius, called to celebrate Lenin's recognition of the Baltic republic's independence in 1920, a Lithuanian activist said Wednesday.

About 1,000 people broke through a double-barrier of police to enter Cathedral Square, while another 10,000 demonstrators remained on the periphery, Pavilas Petelunas said.

Demonstrators called for the independence treaty, signed between the Soviet Union and Lithuania, to be recognised by the present Soviet Government, saying that relations between the two countries should be based on justice.

The Baltic republic was reincorporated into the Soviet Union after a period of German occupation during World War II.

Authorities earlier refused a request for permission to hold the demonstration. Signatories of the request were detained Tuesday for the one-hour duration of the meeting.

Demonstrators, many wearing yellow, green and red—Lithuania's banned national colours—also called for unity, democracy and pluralism, Mr. Petelunas said.

Editorial Views Resolution on Ethnic Relations

PM1207151188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial under the rubric "All-Union Party Conference Resolution": "The USSR Is Our Common Home"]

[Text] Russians and Chuvashes, Ukrainians and Nivkhi, Belorussians and Tatars, Armenians and Gagauz, Estonians and Yakut.... More than 100 nations and nationalities live and work side by side in the USSR. The commonality of their historic destiny is the basis for international socialist fraternity. It was pointed out at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference that life has convincingly confirmed the correctness of V.I. Lenin's idea—combining and pooling efforts has enabled every nation and society as a whole to sharply accelerate its movement. History, perhaps, has never seen such a rapid rise from a state of backwardness to the might of a modern great power.

But let us ask ourselves the following question: Is everything okay in our country, is everything going well? Yes, the national question as bequeathed us by the exploitative system has been resolved successfully, definitively, and irrevocably. But it is extremely important to see the whole real picture: both the undoubted achievements and also the obvious imperfections, omissions, and difficulties. The reality is as follows: The dynamism inherent in the initial phase of forming the multinational state of the Soviets was essentially wasted and undermined by the deviation from Leninist principles of the nationalities policy, by violations of legality during the period of the personality cult, and by the ideology and psychology of stagnation. This was the conclusion drawn by the Resolution "On Interethnic Relations" adopted by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. In many respects the resolution of the nationalities question in our country was absolutized and the notion that there were no problems in national relations gained a firm foothold. At times the requirements for the socioeconomic and cultural development of both individual republics and autonomous formations and also national groups were neglected. Some questions of vital importance were for a long time left unresolved.

Restructuring, democratization, and glasnost have highlighted a number of questions to which little attention was paid previously. They included, for instance, questions of language, development of national culture and art, ecology, and protection of monuments. Everyone is aware that instances of national egoism, arrogance, freeloading sentiments, and parochialism still occur. Some people try to cause clashes between people of different nationalities and try to spread dissension between them. We have seen for ourselves from the example of Nagorno-Karabakh what tangles can result from problems of interethnic relations.

The All-Union CPSU Conference posed as a task of historic importance that of persistently asserting and creatively developing the Leninist norms and principles of the nationalities policy and resolutely cleansing them of artificial accretions and deformations. The main thing is to see problems that constantly crop up and to seek out and provide timely answers to questions put forward by life. The course of the 27th CPSU Congress must be persistently implemented, a course that combines satisfying the interests of all nations and ethnic groups with the country's common interests and requirements. The CPSU sees the development of the republics' and autonomous areas' independence as indissolubly linked with their responsibility for strengthening our multinational state and ensuring its progress. Internationalist ideology is incompatible with any varieties of chauvinism and nationalism.

The party conference outlined a range of measures to further develop and strengthen the Soviet federation on the basis of democratic principles. The rights of the union republics and autonomous formations are being broadened and conditions are being created for their greater independence and responsibility in the sphere of the economy, social and cultural development, and nature protection. Radical economic reform and the process of democratization are opening up broad scope for the optimum combination of the interests of both national-state formations and also the country as a whole.

Delegates' speeches mentioned the transfer of certain republics and regions to the principles of economic accountability [khozraschet], while clearly defining their contribution to the resolution of all-union programs. The resolution points out that the idea deserves attention. Here it is important to formulate the matter in such a way that people are well aware of how much a republic or oblast produces, its contribution to the country's economy, and how much it receives. A qualitatively new mechanism for forming republic and local budgets must be worked out legislatively and their role in resolving questions of regions' socioeconomic development boosted. Effective collaboration between territorial management organs and central ministries and departments must be ensured and the responsibility of both republic and also union management organs for republic and oblast comprehensive development stepped up.

The internationalization of the economy and the whole of public life is a logical process. But the desire for national exclusivity can only lead to economic and spiritual impoverishment. The conference outlined steps to galvanize those institutions in the political system which must be used to coordinate national interests.

In this connection boosting the role of the soviets, above all that of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, its standing commissions, and also the USSR Government is of paramount importance. The conference deemed it advisable to create where necessary in the USSR Supreme Soviet, union and autonomous republic supreme soviets, and local soviets permanent commissions on questions of interethnic relations and advocated the formation of a special state body for affairs of nationalities and national relations. In light of the new realities it has been recommended that legislation on union republics and autonomous areas be updated and that it more fully reflect their rights and obligations and the principles of self-management and of representation for all nationalities in organs of power both at the center and at local level.

One clause in the Resolution "On Interethnic Relations" is geared to ensuring that economic and social progress is accompanied by spiritual progress with the emphasis on the cultural uniqueness of the nations and ethnic groups. It stresses that the free development and full and equal use by all citizens of the USSR of their mother tongues and the mastery of the Russian language, which has been voluntarily adopted by Soviet people as a means of interethnic communication, are the most important principle in our multiethnic state. All conditions must be created for national-Russian bilingualism to develop not merely pro forma but harmoniously and naturally and for the study of the native language by other nationalities inhabiting a particular republic to be encouraged.

Young people are the country's future. How we educate them determines how they will turn out. Each generation accumulates social experience in its own way and goes through the school of patriotism and internationalism. It is important to reveal the sources of the friendship among our people starting with the family and school and for interethnic relations to be actively cultivated.

Shaping a socialist internationalist way of life is a matter for the entire party and for all Soviet people. Political experience, labor ethics, and the moral potential of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia must be mobilized for this. The Komsomol and army service are called upon to do a great deal in this field.

It is a Soviet person's civic duty to actively combat national insularity, conceit, and chauvinism. Any national problems demand a well-considered approach. They must be resolved calmly and extremely responsibly within the framework of socialist democracy and legality, primarily by means of meeting each other halfway. The ultimate concern is to create the kind of social atmosphere whereby a person of any nationality can feel at home in any part of the country. The resolution stresses that the social and historic importance of the nationwide holiday—USSR Formation Day—must be boosted.

Communists of all nationalities are the soul of the socialist union of the peoples, its cohesive force. Through their entire activity, party organizations are called upon to rally working people under the flag of restructuring and mobilize people to fulfill the resolutions adopted by the conference. It is necessary to firmly hold course to ensure that all nations and ethnic groups are represented in party, soviet, Komsomol, and economic organs and that the composition of leading cadres reflects most fully the national structure of Soviet society.

The conference supported the CPSU Central Committee Politburo proposal on holding a party Central Committee plenum on questions of national relations.

The USSR is our common home. We are its masters. That is why we must equip it, care for it, and bolster everything that serves to rally the peoples of the USSR.

Editorial Views Expanding Democratic Process

PM1207151588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The 19th Party Conference on Expanding Democracy"]

[Text] Such a thing had not happened for a long time. At least, not in the memory of even middle-aged people. The days pass since the conference closed, but the discussions about it continue. Indeed, it seems that discussions are burgeoning every which way. And these are not the "compulsory" discussions which were sluggishly held in previous years after the latest "historic forum." People are arguing and talking themselves. The discussions center on the forthcoming reform of the political system. And the reform centers on the democratization of all aspects of society's life.

For decades old and young alike have been taught methodically and without any particular proof that ours is the "most democratic system in the world." Yet meanwhile the people were increasingly being removed from the levers of administration, from the shaping of organs of power, and from the democratic—that is, with their participation—resolution of vitally important issues. Virtually everything was decided on their behalf. Starting with when to plow, and ending with whom to vote for. The proprietors of the country were merely allowed to submissively consent to all this.

To state that all this will quickly disappear from our life today would be to considerably embellish reality. The stagnant past, from which the party's healthy forces are resolutely dissociating themselves, is still belligerent and tenacious. Not for nothing did the conference admit quite bluntly that although "the country's slide into economic and sociopolitical crisis has been halted," the "processes of restructuring are proceeding in a contradictory, complex, and difficult fashion in a confrontation between old and new." Why? There is an honest answer to this question: By no means everyone as yet accepts democratic methods of work and life. "At all levels of social, state, and economic activity," one of the resolutions notes, "there are still many workers who are unwilling or unable to give up methods of administration by edict and who find innovations painful. There are also many who are scared by the scale and depth of restructuring and would prefer to stop halfway and restrict the revolutionary content of restructuring to half-measures."

Nonetheless, it can now definitely be stated that the ideological, political, and social atmosphere in the country has changed markedly. And the main thing that has helped this is democratization. The development and deepening of democratic processes and the assertion of glasnost—which is indissolubly bound up with them—sharply raised the political and social activeness not only of Communists but of nonparty people even before the party conference and enhanced their interest in what the delegates were to discuss and decide. The conference has given the democratization process such powerful impetus that now, in its wake, it is quite frankly difficult to measure life by yesterday's yardsticks. The course of the conference itself showed that democracy in relations is becoming not just a word but a fact. For instance, the fact that for the first time in recent years the number of people wanting to speak did not diminish with each passing day but, on the contrary, increased, attests to the newly emerged and, for many, still unusual atmosphere of attention to other opinions—without which there is no democracy and can be none. Finally, the decisions that were adopted. Soberly and very severely stating the situation in which the party and society find themselves, they at the same time unambiguously reinforce what has been achieved during the period of restructuring. Including the progress of the country's democratization.

However, in its resolutions the conference did not restrict itself to supporting and defending the shoots of democracy that have already taken root. It posed the task of moving strongly and sharply down this road. Clear-cut and resolute measures have been taken to this end. Thanks to these measures the democratization process should encompass in a very short time absolutely all spheres of our life—the economy, state building, public and social relations, and the party itself. The latter is of fundamental importance. Remaining the leading political force in Soviet society, the party is concerned to ensure that reform results in the creation of a democratic mechanism of functioning that would rule out the possibility of the usurpation of power or the influence of subjective or incidental circumstances on party policy. "The CPSU," the 19th all-union conference assured us, "will never allow any repetition of anything such as was associated with the periods of the personality cult and stagnation—periods that caused profound deformations in socialist society, held back its development for whole decades, and led to huge human casualties and innumerable moral and ideological losses." That is, it will not permit anything that could only appear in an atmosphere of antidemocracy and disdain for the will and reason of millions.

The measures outlined by the conference for democratizing the entire state system and social structures create the prerequisites for profound and comprehensive changes. As a result of these measures broad scope should be opened up for socialist society's self-management, conditions created for fully developing citizens' initiative, and a mechanism coordinated for democratically revealing and shaping the interests and will of all classes and social groups. In other words, all affairs in the country should be resolved by the people and their competent representatives and be under their complete and effective control.

It should be said that wherever methods of democratic self-management are making headway we can today see a new attitude on the part of people both to their work and to the resolution of social problems. Take the economy. The conference aired many sharp judgments about ministerial and departmental monopolies that strive to distort the essence of the Law on the State Enterprise and crush the initiative and independence of labor collectives. Shackled by the diktat of so-called state orders and deprived of any room for economic maneuver, many state enterprises are finding it hard to clamber out of the mire of stagnation.

The picture is quite different in the strengthening cooperative movement. Lack of economic constraint, quick reactions to consumer needs, self-management, and economic accountability [khozraschet] all constitute the assertion of democracy in the economy. That is why the struggle against bureaucratic distortions of the Law on the State Enterprise, the prompting of labor collective councils to engage in vigorous activity, and the development of economically accountable, contract, and lease relations both in industry and in agriculture is what we must struggle for today with might and main if we want to secure a victory for democratic principles in the economy.

The deepening of democracy in all spheres of life is a meaningful and broad concept. It means the democratization of management with a redistribution of functions and powers to local areas. It means a simplification of the structure and an improvement of the work methods of the state apparatus, whose activity should be under the constant control of the people—which may to a considerable extent promote the successful struggle against bureaucratism. It also means the expansion of the political rights and personal freedoms of citizens, among which a special place goes to the human right to participate in administration and in expressing one's own opinion on any question, and to freedom of conscience.

Finally, and perhaps above all, the soviets must be a reliable guarantee of the deepening of democratic relations in society.

The conference framed the question thus: Not a single question of state, economic, or social life should be decided separately from soviets elected on a democratic basis.

In this regard it is necessary to particularly mention one of the most important aspects of people's power: the electoral system. The conference stressed that the current electoral system needs to be substantially altered. And that is indeed so. Organs of power will only become genuinely popular if the people themselves start electing their representatives to soviets—be they city, rayon, or supreme soviets—rather than agreeing to a single candidate proposed "from above." Literally the other day IZVESTIYA published a letter from worker V. Kuzemko in which he recounted why he refused to vote for the sole candidate proposed to voters as a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. He refused because nobody had fought for V. Kuzemko's vote. Everyone was sure (and so it turned out, incidentally!) that the candidate approved in some office would definitely become a deputy.

But the democratization of the country's political and social life, which the conference advocated, now presupposes an entirely different responsibility for our votes, actions, and decisions. Everyone must learn democracy. Both those who are elected and those doing the electing.

This science is not simple. That is why today we must support every new shoot of democracy and every manifestation of genuine socialist self-management. By supporting democratization, we are thereby supporting the decisions of the 19th party conference geared to fundamentally changing Soviet society.

Editorial on Conference Glasnost Resolution

PM1207100988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial under the rubric "Resolutions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "Without Glasnost There Is No Restructuring, No Democracy"]

[Text] On the eve of the conference this idea was like a refrain in the editors' mail: We expect lessons in glasnost and truth from the conference. We believe that those expectations have been justified—glasnost was one of the heroines of the conference. The actual debate there, which we followed with great interest, reflected the atmosphere of openness, honesty, and sincerity which is becoming established in society.

As is known, the conference adopted, inter alia, the resolution "On Glasnost." Whoever has read it attentively cannot fail to have noticed these words: "The inclusion of glasnost in public life." Inclusion.... This means that we did not have it, and we did not know what it is like to live under conditions of glasnost. But without it—without glasnost—people were afraid to speak the truth aloud, for everything that was later referred to as stagnation phenomena was sheltered behind the name of the party and the people, and just try to tell the truth if it undermined the "authorities" and spotlighted sham heroes, swindlers with ministerial rank, liars, and toadies.

Glasnost is the sharp weapon of restructuring, and the fact that some people still fear it confirms once again how essential it is. Our readers call glasnost a means of getting rid of various kinds of deformations, a means of healing chronic illnesses. They ponder on how it should be in the future and on guarantees of the irreversibility of the changes that have begun. Here are some lines from letters. "The overwhelming majority of Communists still lack the chief thing—free access to information, which is still under the control of the leadership." "The further from Moscow, the more the level of glasnost changes, and not for the better." "What are we afraid of? Trial by glasnost? There is no need to be! We must do more to ensure that glasnost always and in everything acts only in its own person—glasnost—without provincial makeup and tinsel garlands."

There is no need to go over the resolution "On Glasnost" again in detail—it can be seen by everyone and is accessible to everyone. We would like to single out what are, in our view, the chief aspects.

For the first time since V.I. Lenin, a party conference provides a detailed concept of glasnost in a socialist society and speaks of its role and purpose and the real need for it in all spheres of our life. The conference considers the further development of glasnost one of the most important political tasks. We emphasize—political, for it is a question of the interests of socialism and restructuring, a question of the country's destiny.

The reader has a right to ask the question: "I am for glasnost, but what bearing do I have on political tasks? For are they not determined by the leadership?" Let us not be in a hurry to apply the epithet "naive" here. Each of us looks at his own purpose through the prism of his own work and occupations, through contact with living practice, when you either feel that people need you or you do not. After the many years that you were considered just a cog, the ordinary person has lost a taste for shaping policy. This is why the conference regards glasnost and its broadening as an indispensable condition for introducing the individual to all the affairs of society, the state, and the collective. Through this introduction we participate in politics, through this introduction we shape it. And we not only shape it. Glasnost is also a guarantee against deformations of socialism, since it creates a basis of nationwide control over the work of social institutions, organs of power, and the state.

Today we are learning to live under conditions of glasnost. We can boldly state that it is our common asset. We have welcomed it in our home with an open heart and at once taken to it. We like living under conditions when fear of speaking the truth is being replaced by the civic desire to express a personal opinion on any issue; we like the fact that socialist pluralism of opinions is becoming the norm, while heated arguments and debates are opening up the way to truth. But glasnost today, however much we like it, itself needs both deepening and support, for it is a developing process.

Why does it need namely support?

The point is that a considerable amount of information remains inaccessible to the general public and is not used for the purpose of restructuring or enhancing the political culture of the masses and management cadres. Reports of glasnost being held back frequently come from the provinces. Barriers, including parochial and departmental ones, are being erected in its path. There is no reduction in the number of letters—to PRAVDA as well—containing working people's complaints. What about victimization and even reprisals for criticism? Have we really gotten rid of this? Glasnost needs protection against ambitions, when personal or group interests are pushed through under its flag and when comradely exactingness and the concepts of honor and duty are pushed aside in favor of such interests. We must proceed from an honest understanding of the inalienable principle of glasnost—freedom to express opinions today serves the cause of ennobling the individual and protecting his dignity, not of humiliating the individual by means of calumnies and insulting tags.

In developing glasnost, the resolution states, the party is invariably guided by Lenin's instruction that the masses must know everything, judge everything, and undertake everything consciously. The Communist Party and the Soviet people need the truth and full, objective information about everything happening in society. Glasnost must serve the goals of consolidating all social forces around the ideas and principles of restructuring.

We believe that the resolution's thesis that namely the party takes on the urgent task of helping, for its part, to assert and develop the basic principles of glasnost has been perceived with profound satisfaction. What kind of principles are they? The inalienable right of every citizen to receive on any question of public life full and authentic information which does not constitute a state or military secret; the right to open and free discussion of any question of public significance.

The conference pointed out that the party must set an example of initiative in developing glasnost. This thought was aired in working people's letters, in the debates during the preparations for the conference, and in the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses. It was reflected in the resolution.

In order to set an example, every party worker must reinterpret a great deal. He must assimilate a great deal—not just knowledge but also the lessons of life. But the chief thing is to realize that without glasnost there is no restructuring, no democracy. That glasnost is the natural atmosphere of life and progress under democratic, humane socialism. Natural! Whether or not people like glasnost, there is and will be no return to the old ways. Therefore it was strange to hear on the eve of the conference the statements by individual party workers that the press is allegedly always shaking and undermining their authority and that there will be an end to journalists' liberties after the conference. To a certain extent this attitude toward the party press was also seen in some delegates. You might think that it is party workers that should understand better than others the role of the party organ in developing glasnost and rely on it, but the facts attest differently: In some places, manifest hostility toward journalists creeps in.

The conference noted the important role of the mass media in broadening glasnost. Of course, far from everything has been done, and there is something to criticize the press for too. Journalists were asked to enhance their responsibility for the printed word. The times when the printed word became the obedient tool of authoritarianism and bureaucratic arbitrariness are still fresh in our memory. Today the press too must restructure itself and learn the culture of criticism, the culture of comradely debate. This is not an abandonment of criticism. It is inadmissible to hold back critical articles. But it is also inadmissible to publish unobjective information which offends the citizen's honor and dignity. The press must reflect without distortion the viewpoints of sides in dispute. No one has a monopoly on the truth, and there must be no monopoly on glasnost either.

The soil of openness and glasnost is a fertile one for the press. But weeds too can appear in good soil. Everyone must endeavor to prevent factionalism and manifestations of demagoguery and national, regional, or corporative egotism.

The inclusion of glasnost in public life since the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum has fully justified itself. But glasnost does not mean carte blanche or the principle "I will get what I want." And it is no coincidence that the resolution states that it is inadmissible to use glasnost to the detriment of the interests of the state, society, or the rights of the individual, to preach war, violence, racism, or national and religious intolerance, to propagandize cruelty and disseminate pornography, as well as to manipulate glasnost.

Today the word "glasnost" is widely known throughout the world. At one time people attempted to translate it, but then it came to be used in newspapers without being translated—glasnost. It is certainly not linguists but politicians who study what lies behind this word. For us, in the international arena glasnost is promoting the cause of peace and cooperation and helping to strengthen the ideas of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world.

Glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism serve the people's interests. They reflect the openness of our society's political system. They attest to its strength, political vitality, and moral health.

Correction to Resolution on Political Reform

The following corrections pertain to the item headlined "Political Reform Resolution" published in the 5 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT Supplement, pages 130-134:

Page 132, column one, paragraph five, line three: "...development of the Soviet socialist federation in the interests..." (removing capitalization)

Page 134, column one, paragraph three, line six: "...ballots, and the possibility of the inclusion on ballot..". (adding "possibility of the")

Arbatov, Afanasyev Rebut Melnikov Charges

PM1307153988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Feature comprising letter from Doctor of Technical Sciences Professor V. Chebanenko plus comments from V. Afanasyev, chief editor of PRAVDA; G. Arbatov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences United States and Canada Institute; V. Melnikov, first secretary of Komi CPSU Obkom; and IZVESTIYA editorial bureau: "Criticism of Opinions and Opinions on Criticism"]

[Text] I am writing to IZVESTIYA because, by dint of the circumstances described below, I cannot write to PRAVDA. It is not a question of any special preference, although I do indeed like your newspaper. And I am not alone: IZVESTIYA's circulation has markedly increased recently. I am being neither complimentary nor reverential, but am merely leading up to the following idea: We can well remember how, just 10 years ago, the same members of the IZVESTIYA collective—judging by the names in the newspaper—were producing a boring and depressing newspaper. There were portrait galleries and waffling reports... Circulation fell sharply. People may object that all newspapers were the same back then. But even at the most difficult times PRAVDA still managed to be combative sometimes. One can only surmise what this cost the PRAVDA workers and the chief editor. Of course, against the backdrop of today's extensive criticism those past articles may seem timid and feel reticent. However, even they required considerable courage and principledness. Had it not been for those articles the glasnost era would undoubtedly have found the going much harder.

I remembered this when listening to the television broadcast of V. Melnikov's speech at the 19th party conference. He called PRAVDA Chief Editor V. Afanasyev one of the active proponents of the policy of stagnation, claiming that since he was one of the old "brigade" who had supported the former setup, that meant he absolutely had to go.

I also advocate personal responsibility. Otherwise, everything will just boil down to pleading objective conditions and pinning blame on long-dead leaders. But should we use the same yardstick to judge everyone who worked in previous years? It would, of course, be simpler and more effective to discount their merits. However, is it right to accuse people, in essence, of not being sufficiently successful in their struggle against stagnant phenomena? I think that we should not substitute critical analysis of the system with quests for a few "conspicuous examples" [kraynyye].

V. Melnikov also named Academician G. Arbatov as one such "conspicuous example." Both as an academic and as an expert taking part in the elaboration of important policy problems G. Arbatov has probably had his failures and made mistakes. Like other people who took part in the elaboration and substantiation of state decisions he must take responsibility for their consequences. But does not the level of responsibility depend on what personal stance was taken by people at that time?

I suppose that in naming the names of those who, in his opinion, should quit their posts, V. Melnikov had some serious compromising information to hand. But that is even more reason not to hush it up or keep it from the party conference delegates and all of us mere mortals. The question was quite rightly raised of providing more extensive information to the party and people on the personal duties of the country's leaders and on the views and positions of prominent politicians. Periodic reports by them to primary party organizations and the general public should become customary. In general, they should be brought under the control of public opinion. And then people's departure from top posts will not look like the result of behind-the-scenes intrigues, but will become a natural political process.

I make no bones about the fact that I also had personal reasons for writing this letter. In those notorious years of stagnation about which we are talking I was director of a large industrial enterprise. Stormclouds would gather over me and anyone else who tried to stand up for their own opinion and dignity. I was wrongly accused of many offenses and was condemned. G. Arbatov got actively involved in my fate. Only that allowed me to come through it. And not just me: As far as I know, this was by no means the only case for Arbatov during those years. I think that this shows the man's civic stance.

Doctor of Technical Sciences Professor V. Chebanenko, Moscow.

We asked all three of the political figures mentioned to comment on this reader's letter.

V. Afanasyev, chief editor of PRAVDA:

I do not want to justify myself. And there is no need anyway. As far as I was able I defended what I considered then and consider now to be true.

A political figure's boldness is seen in his readiness to go against the prevailing trend. Against the mode of thought prevailing at the time. Here I cannot fail to recall an article in PRAVDA by D. Valovoy sharply criticizing the expenditure-driven economic management mechanism. Or the well-known article by Academician V. Trapeznikov entitled "Scientific and Technical Progress and Management." As chief editor I really caught it in the neck for all this. Finally, many people will remember the article "Purification," which paved the way for many subsequent demands for the restoration of the principles of social justice.

And one more point. Neither as a journalist nor as a man do I bear any grudge against Comrade Melnikov. He thinks that way—that is his right.

G. Arbatov, director of the United States and Canada Institute:

For good or ill, none of us were living on a desert island. We were all living and working in the same society—me, Comrade Melnikov, and anyone now over 30. If we kicked out everyone who was working then who would be left? And what about restructuring itself—can it be achieved without people?

Who personally was to blame is another question. Clearly, people like Shchelokov, Churbanov, and Kunayev could not stay in place.

There are no "blank spots" in my biography. I went to the front at 18. I entered active life at the time of the 20th Congress. I wrote, spoke, and participated in discussions quite openly. The ideas of peace and USSR-U.S. cooperation were always the basis of my work. Take my book "Entering the Eighties." It was published in 1982—at the peak of stagnation. Which ideas in it would you now deem unworthy of restructuring? Of course, I am not immune to mistakes. But I can recall nothing that would be grounds for reproaching me for pursuing a policy of stagnation. I have nothing to be ashamed of. But, strictly speaking, this thing is bigger than just me. The presumption of innocence is a moral as well as a legal norm. After Comrade Melnikov's speech I went up to him and asked: "What do you mean specifically?" He replied: "That's my opinion."

This has all happened before. Indelible labels have been stuck on people from lofty rostrums. We know how that ended.

V. Melnikov, first secretary of Komi CPSU Obkom:

I see no need to analyze the motives behind my naming precisely these people. At the conference I was expressing a profoundly personal viewpoint in answering a question from the presidium. I could also have named other ranking officials who have long impeded our progress. In 30 years of work in my region I have often experienced this. Yet many of them are still in their jobs.

But the subject is too delicate [shchepetilnyy] to be developed further. I sensed this from the reaction in the auditorium. One section supported me, another section clearly found my words distasteful...

From the editorial bureau:

In publishing V. Chebanenko's letter and the commentaries on it, we are reaffirming our readiness to continue—as before—to provide opportunities for different judgments to be expressed in the newspaper and for opinions to be compared on issues of public interest.

But it is necessary to separate this specific case from the problem of responsibility as a whole. Incidentally, this is a matter for special discussion. In this case we are talking about a situation that has gained a public dimension owing to the fact that widely known figures were named at the conference.

But V. Chebanenko is also right: In order for decisions on personal responsibility to be well-reasoned and comprehensible to people we need extensive information about the nature of the shortcomings they committed and about the personalities of those to whom such shortcomings are linked. Reticence and vague formulas will only provide food for false interpretations.

Arbatov Comments on All-Union Party Conference

OW0907055988 Moscow in Japanese to Japan
1200 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] A Radio Moscow reporter has interviewed Academician Georgiy Arbatov, a noted Soviet scholar and social activist and director of the United States of America and Canada Institute. Mr Arbatov, who is also a member of the CPSU Central Committee, recently attended the 19th all-union party conference as a deputy.

Asked how he evaluates the work of the conference, Academician Arbatov made the following remarks:

[Begin Arbatov recording in Russian fading into Japanese translation] The conference was fruitful and rich in substance. Debates covered almost all aspects of life in our country. The conference represented a school for real democracy. Frank and free opinions were expressed, and problems put forward in a shrewd and principled manner. At the conference, we felt something totally different from what I and my contemporaries had been accustomed to.

Reform of the Soviet political system was proposed at the conference. I think outdated systems should be destroyed. There has been a fairly long period, which may be called a period of emergency, in the national history of the Soviet Union. That is why the potential of democracy inherent to socialism has scarcely been realized.

First of all, the soviet, the popular national organ, should be restored to its complete power. The conference expressed its support for perestroyka in Soviet institutions ranging from election systems and workstyles to permanent chairmen of the soviet and [word indistinct] of presidiums.

The conference adopted a proposal that first secretaries of party committees be recommended for soviet chairmanship. This is designed to consolidate the soviet system with party authority. In addition, those party leaders concurrently soviet chairmen will own obligations to report to residents through soviet deputies.

I felt misgivings about some deputies' remarks denouncing the mass media. We should not forget the nonsensical, destructive economic policy sneakingly followed in the Stalin era [words indistinct], should we? This is a lesson we have learned from the bitter past experience. The lack of openness, as well as obedience of the mass media are partly responsible for this development at that time. That is why I zealously voted for a resolution against restraints on criticism by the mass media.

The conference shed light on various new problems. Different opinions were expressed at the conference. In my opinion, some of these views were quite contrary to the ideals of perestroyka, and I could not agree with them. However, they also represent part of democracy. All opinions should be given a chance for expression. The guarantee against retrogression of perestroyka exists in ourselves. The guarantee stems from united struggles in us all—whether they belong to the party or not—to innovate society.

The significance of the 19th all-union party conference lies in the fact that it has resolved many problems, and showed the way for future development. It was the greatest event in domestic politics since the 27th party congress. [end recording]

Paper Assesses Need To Democratize Party

PM2706103588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 23 Jun 88 p 3

[L. Semina account of discussion with Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Shostakovskiy, rector of the Moscow Higher Party School, and Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Zhukov, head of the Moscow Higher Party School Party Building Department, under the rubric "19th All-Union Conference: Between the Lines of the CPSU Central Committee Theses": "Democratization of the Party"; date an dplace of discussion not given—boldface as published; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA KULTURA introduction]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Theses are discussed by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Shostakovskiy, rector of the Moscow Higher Party School and delegate to the 19th all-union party conference, and Doctor of Historical Sciences V. Zhukov, head of the Moscow Higher Party School Party Building Department.

Are We Returning to Political Debate? [subhead]

Correspondent: The party Central Committee offered the Theses as a platform for debate.

I have heard various assessments of the Theses—from extremely enthusiastic to highly skeptical. But the fact that this document essentially restores the Leninist principle of freedom of political debate within the party is of unquestionable historical importance. Or am I exaggerating?

V. Shostakovskiy: I do not think you are. Pluralism of opinion and open comparison and a certain demarcation of ideas and interests are already a reality of restructuring. The restoration of Lenin's concept of socialist pluralism, which also implies the need for freedom of political debate, is a pressing social requirement. The Theses impart purposefulness and organizational completeness to this process. A political criterion of socialist pluralism has been formulated for the first time in living memory: Any social activity conducted within the framework of the constitution and not contrary to the interests of the Soviet socialist society's development deserves recognition.

Correspondent: Does this mean that the emergence of some kind of opposition is possible? At a recent session of one of the self-motivated sociopolitical clubs, I heard it said that no genuine democratization of political life will take place without it....

V. Zhukov: The emergence of any party, including an opposition party, is conditioned by certain economic conditions and sociopolitical needs. I think we have a party that is capable of expressing the people's interests and that has proved this throughout its history; there are no objective preconditions for the emergence of a new party, and it would be wasteful as far as society was concerned to create some new formation to promote the selfish ambitions of a certain circle of persons.

V. Shostakovskiy: It seems to me that we ourselves are to blame for the fact that some people have developed the idea of the need for a special opposition party: Party organizations have partly lost the richest traditions of critical self-monitoring elaborated by Bolshevism. The broad and free debates of the past have died down, and Lenin's idea of universal monitoring from below, in its most diverse forms, has been forgotten. We have adopted just one of its varieties—the monitoring of execution of decisions adopted by leading party organs, in other words, monitoring used as a departmental instrument by the party apparatus. Universal monitoring, which is capable of cleansing the party of bureaucratism and red tape, started losing its constructive orientation from the start of the period when the personality cult began to take shape and ceased to keep a critical eye on the elaboration of ways and means of implementing party policy.

Correspondent: The idea of a Central Control Commission as an organ of our party of equal status with the Central Committee is now once more gaining growing support. How realistic is this: The existence alongside the Politburo, for example, of an institution to which the Politburo would be in some respects accountable?

V. Shostakovskiy: The revival of Lenin's concept of universal monitoring is, in my view, a necessary component of the reform of the political system. It will be realistic provided the following mandatory conditions are observed: First, that the Party Control Committee is elected by the congress and is accountable to it, in other words to the entire party, and, second, that the members of the Central Control Commission, as the very purpose of such a commission presupposes, participate in the work of the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat.

Correspondent: The Theses put forward the proposal to create a single organ for monitoring and auditing work elected by the congress on the basis of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee. But would such an organ be in a position to uphold its own point of view?

V. Shostakovskiy: The Central Committee stresses in the Theses the immediacy of the task of creating political mechanisms and guarantees precluding any future possibilities of violating Leninist principles. Removing party control from direct leadership by the party committee creates promising preconditions in this regard. At the same time, it is important to bear in mind that even monitoring and auditing organs could become excessively bureaucratized if their creation turns into a goal in itself.

The party's ability to monitor itself and to critically analyze its actions still depends primarily on the state of intraparty relations, on how fully the principle of democratic centralism, collectiveness, collegiality in work, and glasnost is applied in its activity. There is not and there cannot be any single means, whether a Central Control Commission or free debate, which would immediately and completely rid the party and society of any past defects.

Correspondent: You must agree, however, that there can be no proper democratization of the party without these pressing changes.... It is not for nothing that all participants in the debate on the theses take a positive attitude toward the procedure for discussing issues in the Central Committee envisaged by restructuring, toward the introduction of direct secret ballots, and toward the declassification of party life, in other words, toward measures that would help overcome leading personnel's loss of touch with the broad masses and would really guarantee the rank and file Communists' right to participate in the elaboration of policy. Freedom of debate and pluralism of opinion, if applied fully rather than in a halfhearted way, would help democratic centralism gain its true, dialectical form whereby centralism acts as a regulator of democracy and democracy is the source and embodiment of centralism.

V. Shostakovskiy: The establishment of real pluralism is a contradictory process. Restructuring shows that each subsequent step in society's spiritual emancipation does not follow automatically; it is fraught with its own peaks and its own crises. Here it is important to proceed from the premise that democratization processes in our country occur in a socialist environment and on the specific basis of our formation. This is why the CPSU Central Committee stresses in the Theses that debates are fruitful only on the basis of socialism and for the sake of socialism, that they must not lead to political confrontation and the fragmentation of social forces. This must be the starting condition.

Correspondent: Can you give an example of the forms of political pluralism that have emerged in our country in the course of restructuring?

V. Shostakovskiy: Take as an example the alternative candidates for elected office nominated by the party, the trade unions, the Komsomol, and other mass organizations. The deeper this process extends, the greater the guarantees for the development of a genuinely pluralist way of life. And how about the different forms of social self-management at places of residence? If they are properly developed—will this not be socialist pluralism in action?...

Correspondent: Does this mean that freedom of political debate is a perfectly realistic prospect?

V. Zhukov: I would say that it is perfectly real right now: After all, a debate on the theses is already under way. The only point to watch is **what** is being said and to what purpose. Things must be said with respect for the truth, for the socialist ideal, for one another.

What If Power Sharing Happened [subhead]

Correspondent: The second fundamental aspect of the Theses is the demand that power from the bottom to the top be entirely transferred to the soviets. Is this to be taken to mean that the party will retain only the role of ideological leader [vozhd] exercising leadership not through edicts or cadre "games" but through Communists and persuasion?

V. Shostakovskiy: We are interpreting the party's role and functions in a new fashion under the conditions of restructuring. As the political vanguard of a class, it takes on the theoretical elaboration and amendment of the political course and its implementation through the masses, including by introducing scientific awareness and the ideology of renewal. As an organization, it acts through Communists and works with people, aiming to ensure that every collective fully implements its functions and democratic rights. As an educator, it creates an atmosphere of openness, debate, criticism and self-criticism, collectivism, comradeship, and respect for the individual. In this regard it does not supplant either the soviets, or the trade unions and the Komsomol, or any other state or self-motivated institutions.

V. Zhukov: In my view, for example, there is good reason to review the nomenklatura of party committee cadres and to transfer the right to confirm officials elected by labor collectives to the local soviets of people's deputies. And in some spheres of state power, like the legal sphere for example, it is necessary to totally exclude any interference by party organs: The courts and prosecutor's offices must be free from the "leading and guiding" influence of local organs of power and must be given reliable guarantees of independence.

Correspondent: The Theses outline the idea of legal reform based on strict observance of legality, constitutional provisions, and law and order by all, including party organ personnel.

V. Zhukov: Making the law equal and binding **for all** is an absolute condition for establishing a society based on law. Unfortunately, we have not so far managed to achieve this. But if all the provisions enshrined in the Theses as regards reform of courts and prosecutor's offices are implemented, and especially if they are consistently implemented without exceptions and reservations, if there is real separation of legislative, executive, judicial, and political power—then the ideals of a socialist state based on law will prevail.

Correspondent: Will such a separation be accepted at local level? After all, this means depriving party organs and their apparatus of the right to wield total power over everybody and everything at rayon or oblast level. On the other hand, if such a right does not exist, how are we to really cope with problems, to coordinate and harmonize the actions of all links of social life?

V. Shostakovskiy: There will certainly be some resistance. The point is not even that the redistribution of power and functions will affect some people's personal and selfish interests. It seems to me that nowadays the mass of people, including party personnel, are not so much in favor of the old conditions as afraid of unknown and uncertain new situations, not knowing what it has in store... This, I think, is the reason why they place so many hopes on the conference, expecting the usual "guidelines," "recommendations from the center," and "decisions." The fear of independent decisionmaking and enterprising actions is a scourge whose effect we will feel for a long time to come.

The situation is aggravated by the fact that there are good reasons for fear: The prevailing traditions, the structure of party committees, the absence of local state organs to coordinate interdepartmental interests, the economic organs' desire to shift responsibility onto a party organ, and the virtual powerlessness of soviets, which still have no proper economic levers to exercise their rights—all this supports the illusion that all-pervading party interference is irreplaceable.

Back in the past Lenin stressed in particular that the party can perform its tasks only when it is able not to lose touch with the mass it leads but remains in alliance with it. Indeed, an **alliance** is a real democratic prospect of party leadership that is in line with the tasks of restructuring, helps to overcome the ossification of our political structures, supports living initiative by the masses, and makes it possible to coordinate their efforts without pressure, on the basis of common interests.

Correspondent: What prevents the implementation of such an alliance? Communist arrogance? Inertia? Fear of an innovative quest by partners? Excessive bureaucratization?

V. Shostakovskiy: The art of political leadership needs special skills, methodological skills. It needs a certain sociological culture on the part of cadres. In order to forecast the development of various processes in society, to elaborate an accurate program of actions, and to efficiently and flexibly respond to miscalculations and excesses, to conservatism and jumping of the gun, to timeserving and leaderism [vozhdism], one needs more than just familiarity with information and the sum total of specialized knowledge. It is necessary to have a certain culture of thinking in order to perceive reality dialectically, as a living movement of contradictory trends, interests, and conditions. It is no secret that it is still not enough to just "raise the question of" such thinking and make it a "professional qualification" for party cadres. Hence some people's inclination toward administrative management and willful, forcible, and other such "convenient" methods of authoritarian pressure, hence the supplanting of nonparty organs and petty tutelage of them instead of overall leadership.

Correspondent: In this case, corresponding structural changes in the party system suggest themselves. It is probably no accident that raykoms, for example, today already rely increasingly often on public commissions, task forces, and action centers, even though this is frequently done with reservations and a certain caution. Maybe, as you have already said, they are awaiting some reorientation?

V. Zhukov: In my view, the Theses contain accurate guidelines in this regard. They carry out a serious reinterpretation of the party apparatus' contemporary functions and the committee's entire range of duties. I am not sure that the time has come to reject the department as the main link in the party apparatus structure. But I am sure that the sectorial approach in the formation of departments has exhausted its potential and has outlived its time. In addition to strengthening the existing strictly party departments (organizational-party work, propaganda, and agitation), it is possible that new ones might appear (sociological data or, for example, economic analysis).

V. Shostakovskiy: How did raykoms and obkoms take shape? In the conditions of general lack of departmental coordination, when there was virtually no state system for coordinating economic activity within the framework of sufficiently large regions and such coordination had to be effected only through the party committee's authority. Now that the radical economic reform is in operation, the independence of enterprises and labor collectives is being strengthened. And I agree that there is less need for a sectorial structure of the party apparatus. The party organ's structure will have to be restructured with man in view, the implementation of man's interests must become the overall task of the activity of all its subdivisions.

It would be possible to study, for example, the following option: To organize the work of the entire elected party organ according to the principle of commissions or task forces, making them subordinate to party organizers and technical experts. The traditional curatorship over primary party organizations could be abolished, with the main attention being focused on deepening activity along the basic avenues of party work. Such an expansion of social principles and redistribution of the existing contingent of party cadres would make it possible to raise the overall standards of elected organs and democratize the apparatus.

How To "Reeducate" the Apparatus? [subhead]

Correspondent: The democratization of the apparatus today is a "burning topic," so to speak. The task has been set of restoring the principle of strict subordination and accountability of the apparatus to elected party organs. Measures have been envisaged to deepen intraparty democracy. Even so, fears persist: Will it be possible to curb the deep-rooted edict and pressure methods, to change the mentality and stance of their bearers—the party functionaries who see themselves as infallible repositories of the truth?

V. Shostakovskiy: A person's stance is the subjective expression of objective conditions, isn't that so? The new tasks of party committees will also demand restructuring in the psychological sphere and will make it necessary to master new approaches and methods of party work. It will be necessary, for example, to overcome the customary technocratic views with their "innate" antidemocratism, disregard for personal interests, and militant antihumanism. Let us hope that our expectations in this regard will be justified.

Nevertheless, it would be perhaps premature to discount the subjective factor which inhibits the process of the party's democratization: That part of the apparatus that is infected by bureaucratism offers firm and—it sometimes seems—growing resistance to the new demands. Since democratization and the development of genuine party self-management cut the ground from under the feet of this narrow circle of "the chosen."

Correspondent: If the party transforms itself, seriously changing the role of the apparatus, the role of party meetings, and the activity of its links in general, it would be logical to ask: Are Communists everywhere ready for this?

V. Zhukov: Yes, much is being said nowadays about the party being clogged up, about the need to thoroughly cleanse it. I think that the theses correctly pose the question of conducting partywide sociopolitical certification of Communists. It might be sensible to make this certification regular, bearing in mind that, according to Lenin, the watchword is "better fewer, but better."

The Central Committee Theses back the idea about the inappropriateness of "quotas" in the admission of new Communists. It is well known that Lenin's concept of party membership, to which the theses return, includes consideration of the opinion of nonparty people. In what form? Maybe in the form of testimonials and recommendations by labor collectives. In my view, it is time to also switch everywhere to a public [glasnyy] examination of Communists' personal files and truthful information about the reasons for removal from office. The guarantees of the irreversibility of party restructuring are, on the one hand, full development of intraparty democracy and the creation and consolidation of a mechanism for exercise of power by the party masses, and, on the other hand, full openness of party activity for the people and the incorporation as far as possible of the people's will in the mechanism of intraparty democracy.

Correspondent: Is another lever—the timely replacement of leading party cadres—not more effective?

V. Shostakovskiy: The Central Committee January (1987) Plenum elaborated a new concept of CPSU cadres policy to suit the conditions of restructuring. I would like to remind readers of its approach: The cause of distortions in cadres work is dual—the acute stagnation phenomena, but also the unjustifiably frequent replacements within the cadres corps. The cause will be furthered not by extremes but by clear-cut criteria for assessing cadres and consistency in their implementation.

Following the January plenum, much has already changed in the work with party cadres: Democratic methods for their election are being established on an increasingly broad scale, certification is being introduced, and reports to Communists from primary organizations are becoming a practice. What we need is a precise and well-structured system of accountability by leaders and members of elected organs. The party must protect itself against a situation whereby, in Lenin's words, "an **incapable** person vested with tremendous power **accidentally** finds himself at the center."

Correspondent: Could the measures proposed in the Theses become reliable mechanisms for such protection? Like, for example, the limitation on people's terms in elected party office? Participants in the debate express doubts, recall past experiences of failure, point out the "loophole" for election for a third term...

V. Shostakovskiy: The package of measures on profound democratization of cadre work and on the overcoming of formalistic nomenklatura approaches, as contained in the theses, is certainly a step forward. The limitation on terms in office, the elections on the basis of broad choice, competition [konkurs], and competitiveness [sostyazatelnost], and the secret ballot system—all these constitute a promising beginning.

It is, however, impossible to avoid mistakes by cadres by relying on organizational measures alone. Lenin wrote: "No statute will provide a weapon against this, such a weapon can be provided only by measures of 'comradely influence...'" Obviously, such influence is the most important mechanism against abuses of party office.

V. Zhukov: Unfortunately, the statutory duty of Communists concerning criticism and self-criticism has yet to become a daily norm of party organizations' life. And this is what underlies a genuine party comradeship. Communists are often afraid to frankly voice their doubts, views, or opinions at meetings.

Correspondent: A reflex action from the time of stagnation? Or from even earlier times?

V. Zhukov: There is more to it. The problem is rooted not just in the traditions of stagnation or the lack of personal courage. Quite a few paradoxical situations have developed even now, in the conditions of restructuring. Is it not a paradox when a Communist voices criticism and the party organization institutes proceedings against him "for breach of party ethics"? This is obvious mutual protection, unity if you like, but **immoral** unity. Back in the past, Engels warned against the dangers and likelihood of a party organization degenerating from a comradely alliance into a corporate clique: "It is also necessary for people to finally stop treating party functionaries—their own servants—with constant and excessive delicacy and, instead of criticizing them, most subserviently obeying them as infallible bureaucrats." Thus the fear of criticism and self-criticism is a product of bureaucratic edict methods of intraparty relations, to which the methods of comradeship and genuine democratism are, of course, antagonistic.

Correspondent: Nevertheless, are there any specific means to prevent a party official from degenerating into a bureaucrat? Lenin spoke of election and replaceability at any time; remuneration for labor not higher than a worker's wage; the transformation of every Communist into a "bureaucrat" for a time; performance of monitoring functions by everyone in turn. In other words, we are talking about greater self-management in party organizations, about reduction of party functionaries to a minimum (both in numbers and in remuneration).

V. Shostakovskiy: A self-managing model of the party? In principle, this is the goal of the reform of the political system, the party's self-renewal on democratic principles as enshrined by the Central Committee in the Theses program. But here is a different question: To what extent are we prepared to fully switch to this model today? Judging by data from sociological polls by the Moscow Higher Party School, the inner desire of the majority within the party leans in this actual direction.

V. Zhukov: A sense of sober realism makes it necessary to warn: A struggle has to be waged for every pressing and desirable change both within the party itself and within the political system. No one should expect an easy victory.

It must be realized that, in the conditions of what is still an adverse economic situation, when the old economic mechanism is only cracked, when the radical economic reform is just taking its first steps, when any swift saturation of the domestic market is unrealistic, when contradictions are beginning to be aggravated owing to the imbalance of the prices and distribution system—under these conditions there is an exceptionally great temptation to revert to the tested bureaucratic edict methods of leadership and management. And the danger of such a reversion does exist, since party and soviet organs find the old-style social structures easier to understand and they have mastered these structures to perfection.

Sociologist Interviewed on Revolution, Conference

AU0807155788 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25-26 Jun 88 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Professor Tatyana Zaslavskaya, president of the Soviet Society of Sociologists, by ZYCIE WARSZAWY Moscow correspondent Henryk Chadzynski: "We Want a Revolution"; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Chadzynski] May I ask you for your personal view on the subject of the turnabout which Soviet society is presently undergoing?

[Zaslavskaya] Indeed. We are in a period of breakthrough as far as perestroyka is concerned. Perestroyka is proceeding with major difficulties. The fact is that the Gorbachev team's basic decisions, completely correct in principle and concerning economic development and the solution of social tasks, assume a shape completely contrary to original intentions when they encounter practical reality and pass through various bodies of the executive apparatus. For example, let us take the system of government contracts, the rules governing the division of profits, which make self-financing impossible. One can give more examples like this. The fortress of bureaucracy in central and field office structures is putting up a fierce resistance. Mikhail Gorbachev has described this as a brake mechanism.

[Chadzynski] But what is behind these mechanisms?

[Zaslavskaya] The main brake is applied by social factors. Perestroyka is not taking place in a vacuum, but involves the important interests of various social groups. Each of them wants to defend its position. Each of them wants to attain something, but is afraid of taking any risk. The planned radical economic reform involves a major redistribution of rights, incomes, and authority. It involves conveying all this from the top to lower-level bodies. This is a reform that is profoundly democratic in principle, but it is understandable that it can only take place at the expense of the interests of those groups that occupy a privileged position today. In the first line it involves the party, administrative, and economic apparatus. A radical redistribution of rights, in other words authority, is built into the concept of perestroyka. That is what gives perestroyka its social-revolutionary nature. That is why Mikhail Gorbachev has described it as a social revolution.

[Chadzynski] But is this revolution already reality, or is it still merely necessity?

[Zaslavskaya] We still cannot say that this revolution is a fact. After all, the most difficult part is still ahead of us. The concept is revolutionary, but what we see in practice is, from my point of view, full of discrepancies and compromise. Hence the sluggishness and inadequate efficiency of this process, which is clearly slowing down social progress. We still have to grow accustomed to real revolutionary changes. To be more exact, we have to win them in a difficult struggle, altering the balance of social forces. [passage omitted]

We cannot carry out an economic revolution and a profound reform without fundamental changes to the political system. If we want a social revolution, and we do, then it cannot be carried out just at the top. It must be supported by the primary social forces, mainly the workers class, peasants, and greater part of the intelligentsia. That is why it is exceedingly important to increase the possibilities for broad masses of people to influence social processes and take greater part in economic and political management. [passage omitted]

[Chadzynski] In what way is the CPSU Conference important for further reforms?

[Zaslavskaya] It seems to me that the conference will present guarantees for as radical restructuring, mainly by creating political institutions to guard the reforms. The point is to create a situation where declarations, principles, and drafts do not diverge from practice. Then people will be convinced that the changes are becoming real, that they are slowly but surely bringing greater results. Then people will realize that this improvement depends on them, not on the goodwill or kindness of the men at the top.

More on Ligachev Visit to Glazunov Exhibition

PM1307130988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit to Exhibition"]

[Text] An exhibition of new work by USSR People's Artist I.S. Glazunov has opened at Moscow's Youth Palace. It is attracting thousands of visitors daily. Canvases of a philosophical and historical nature are causing the greatest interest.

The exhibition was visited on 11 July by Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The following also viewed the exhibition held in the new complex situated on the capital's Komsomol Prospect: Yu.P. Voronov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Culture Department; M.A. Gribanov, USSR first deputy culture minister; Yu.S. Melentyev, RSFSR culture minister; and S.I. Rogozhkin, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee.

Murakhovskiy Attends Fisherman's Day Meeting

*PM1207152988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "In Honor of Fisherman's Day"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting dedicated to the Fisherman's Day professional holiday was held on 8 July in Moscow. N.I. Kotlyar, USSR minister of the fish industry, delivered a speech.

V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and deputy chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, and I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department, took part in the meeting.

AUCCTU Adopts Resolution on Released Workers

*PM0707100988 Moscow TRUD in Russian
6 Jul 88 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "At AUCCTU Presidium"]

[Text] On 4 July 1988 the AUCCTU Presidium adopted a resolution "on the work of the trade union organizations in ensuring the effective employment of the population, improving the job placement system, and stepping up social guarantees for working people."

The reduction of the management apparatus and excessive numbers of workers in connection with the implementation of the economic reform, the improvement of the structure of economic management organs, and the introduction of new equipment and technology, the AUCCTU Presidium notes, is mainly proceeding in an organized manner. In the past 18 months about 1.5 million workers and employees have been released and found work. Many of them have been sent for retraining with a view to improving their qualifications and acquiring new professions using enterprises' funds and their average wages were kept for them for their period of study. The trade unions took an active part in all this work, collaborating closely with the local labor organs. The legal labor inspections [pravovyye inspektsii truda], legal consultations, and consultation centers of soviets and trade union committees rendered legal assistance to working people and enterprise and organization trade union committees.

At the same time, the resolution notes, instances of formalism and a callous attitude toward working people have been allowed. Sometimes questions connected with the release of workers were not resolved on a democratic basis but in a narrow circle of representatives of the administration and public organizations. Such examples can be found at several enterprises and organizations in construction, transport, the agro-industrial complex, local industry, trade, and public catering. As a result workers employed in basic production were often released here and the numerical strength of the management apparatus was not reduced.

Proper steps were not taken to find work for workers, primarily within the enterprise. In particular work was performed only feebly on the transfer to the multishift work system to increase the production of essential output and especially of consumer goods. The number of workers in this system increased only 2.5 percent in 1987. The necessary conditions were not created for part time work, for people of limited capacity for work and for women with small children.

Serious omissions were discovered in the organization of vocational training and retraining for released workers.

Cases are known where enterprise and organization leaders and trade union committees have dismissed people in contravention of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and AUCCTU resolution on ensuring the effective employment of the population. As a result those dismissed have included a substantial number of women and young workers. Thus the trade union committees of the "Saratovneftegaz," "Vologdaavtotrans," and "Aralrybprom" associations, the Tajik SSR poultry factory named for the 60th anniversary of October, the Deputatskiy mining and enrichment combine, and several other enterprises did not prevent the dismissal of citizens near pension age, labor veterans, women with small children, or workers who had been injured at a particular enterprise, and did not display concern for their placement. And some trade union committees, with the connivance of higher ranking trade union organs, consented to the dismissal of workers from a list of 30-60 people without discussing each nomination. Instead of halting these violations, the chairman of the Udmurt Oblast committee of the trade union of power station and electrical equipment industry workers personally "approved" a resolution from the trade union committee of the "Udmurtenergo" REU [expansion unknown] southern electrical networks trade union committee on the dismissal of 54 workers on a list.

There are also instances of economic leaders disregarding the rights of trade unions: Working people are dismissed without the trade union committees' consent. On the "Industrialnyy" sovkhoz, Saratov Oblast, 49 people were dismissed without the trade union committee's consent. Similar cases have occurred at enterprises of the Kirghiz SSR and Khmelnitskiy Oblast. However strange it may seem, the trade union committees and higher ranking trade union organs tolerate this situation. Because of their lack of proper principledness and exactingness toward law violators, at some enterprises in Vologda, Crimean, Leningrad, and Moscow oblasts, workers were not even given 2 months' warning of their forthcoming release and they were not paid their redundancy allowance on the established scale.

Individual trade union organs are not only failing to halt numerous violations of the labor rights of workers and employees but in a number of cases are themselves becoming the initiators of lawlessness. In April 1988 the

Mangyshlak Oblast trade unions council and Oblispolkom adopted a resolution obliging economic leaders to release all workers who had reached pension age irrespective of their attitude toward work, state of health, and other factors. Only after the AUCCTU's intervention was this decision repealed.

In many labor collectives of Gorkiy, Kuybyshev, Amur, Saratov, and other oblasts, work on the explanation of labor legislation has been only feebly organized, which frequently leads to the infringement of working people's legitimate rights and interests.

All these serious shortcomings in work connected with the release and job placement of workers and employees are explained primarily by the underassessment of this question's social and political importance.

The AUCCTU Presidium has denounced instances of the violation and infringement of working people's social guarantees committed during their release and job placement in connection with the implementation of the radical economic reform in the country. It has obliged the trade union central committees, the republican, kray, and oblast trade union councils and committees, and the trade union committees of enterprises, institutions, and organizations to take urgent steps to eliminate serious shortcomings in connection with the release of workers, strictly guided here by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and AUCCTU 22 December 1987 resolution "on ensuring the effective employment of the population, improving the job placement system, and stepping up social guarantees for working people." All work on release and job placement must be performed in an atmosphere of expanded glasnost with a consideration for the interests of workers, employees, and labor collectives and in close collaboration with labor organs and local soviet ispolkoms. There must be an all-around striving for the consolidation of production and labor discipline and the elimination of losses of working time—everything preventing the collectives' normal work. Special concern and sensitivity must be displayed toward labor veterans, people near pension age, and women with small children. A keen and principled assessment must be given of every instance of the violation of labor legislation. In cases of gross violation of working people's rights and interests and of a bureaucratic attitude toward workers, the trade unions must make full use of the rights granted to them—right up to raising the question of releasing guilty leaders from their posts. The demand on trade union leaders conniving with law violators must be heightened. Where necessary questions of the reelection of trade union committee chairmen, who have discredited the trade union organs and failed to ensure the defense of working people's rights and legitimate interests, must be submitted for examination by the relevant trade union organizations.

The enterprise and organization trade union committees have been asked constantly to render legal assistance, to step up the propaganda of legal knowledge in collectives, and to make more active use of the potential of legal consultations, trade union councils, consultation centers, and the nonstaff and public legal consultation services of the trade unions and mass media.

The AUCCTU Presidium has deemed it necessary for the AUCCTU and USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems working group on the coordination of the activity of labor organs and trade unions in applying labor legislation connected with ensuring the population's effective employment to constantly control the work of the trade union organizations, local labor organs, and enterprise, ministry, and department administrations in releasing, retraining, and placing workers and providing them with legal and social guarantees and should promptly eliminate the shortcomings revealed.

People Ignoring Ban on Entering Chernobyl Zone

PM1307074988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[L. Kaybysheva dispatch: "Chernobyl: At Present It Is Impossible To Live in the Zone"]

[Text] Kiev Oblast—Cases of unauthorized inhabitation of houses have been detected in the 30 km zone around Chernobyl, which is, as is well known, closed to habitation.

This is being done most often by elderly people, for whom the pull of their native hearth is stronger than the strict bans. Various authorities are receiving many applications: People want to give back to the state the new apartments they have recently obtained and ask for one thing—to be allowed to return to their former abode.

Perhaps the trouble is past? I asked M. Sedov, director general of the "Kombinat" Production Association, to provide explanations as to the radiation situation.

"The situation has indeed improved sharply and, moreover, much sooner than could have been expected. Thanks to the work of almost 70 organizations, radiation levels have been monitored and a cartogram produced. Using the latter, prognosis charts can be drawn up. A great deal of scientific work is under way. But it is still impossible to live in the zone."

At Pripyat, the former power engineering workers' town, decontamination on the scale hitherto possible has almost been completed: Apartments are empty and possessions left behind have been buried. Windows are being glazed and the water supply and sewage systems are being restored to ensure drainage and protect cellars against flooding. In short, care is being taken to preserve the city.

The large-scale decontamination of the city of Chernobyl began in May. Dilapidated buildings are being pulled down there. Trees are being planted on the territory of the AES; approximately 2,000 have already been planted. Grass is growing on the site of the "red forest."

In effect, all the immediate tasks have been resolved in full. In particular, the "dirty" territory has been decontaminated. Radioactive substances have been collected from large areas and concealed in special burial places. Complete dust suppression in the zone is next.

It has been decided to put on hold the construction of the fifth and sixth AES power units, although it is in principle still possible to erect them.

But why is it still impossible to live in the zone if tremendous work has been carried out to decontaminate it? Deputy chief engineer V. Komanov, a veteran of the "Kombinat" Production Association, answered this question:

"After the accident at the Chernobyl AES the government decided that all data on the radiation situation must be examined for authenticity at the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology. Unfortunately, this procedure is not always observed. Ministry of Health personnel are at times excessively optimistic in their assessment of the situation and conclude that permanent habitation is possible in individual villages. Who needs that kind of 'optimism.' People will possibly be unable to live in the zone for a long time. You cannot isolate a village from the woods, fields, and meadows. But people hope that they are about to be sent back to their home areas and complain about 'overcautious people.'

"But it is not a case of unwarranted overcautiousness. There is a real danger in the zone to people's health. Only authorized people can be found here—professionals specially trained for working under special conditions. They wear special clothing and eat in state cafeterias. This work is well regulated since even authorized specialists are complacent at times and insist on their right to be lodged and work in Pripyat. Please write that I categorically oppose this kind of complacency. Only people responsible for preventing the spread of radionuclides in the Dnepr basin and the spread of AES secondary pollution should work in Pripyat."

Moscow TV Presents Chernobyl 'Chronicle'

LD1007154188 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0730 GMT on 10 July broadcasts a program entitled, "On the Road to Rebirth: Chernobyl Chronicle." Introducing the 50-minute documentary made by Ukrainian television, the unidentified announcer says the program deals with "the work that has been going on to eliminate the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl AES."

The film begins with a sequence recalling the events of 26 April 1986, when the fourth reactor house at the nuclear power station exploded, due to "negligence, incompetence, and criminal carelessness." The announcer says a state commission was set up to coordinate the emergency work on the stricken reactor, seen on video. Boris Yevdokimovich Shcherbina now bears responsibility for the operation. Great heroism was shown by both firemen and helicopter pilots. The town of Pripyat had to be evacuated, as did nearby villages. Special measures were taken to prevent the effects of the disaster from spreading to areas not directly affected. Volunteers were brought in to tackle the hazardous work. Remote-controlled bulldozers were used in the most contaminated areas. Video shows one such vehicle in action, along with a mechanical digger excavating a water-retention trench around the power station and robots being used to gather up radioactive debris that had landed on the roofs of adjacent buildings.

Along with the general clean-up work, the announcer says progress was also made on designing and then building an impenetrable shell or "sarcophagus" around the damaged reactor house as quickly as possible. Video shows this work in progress, as well as shots of other reactor houses, which were shut down immediately after the accident. The huge panels forming the shell were built outside the danger zone and then lowered into place around the reactor building by powerful cranes controlled with the help of television cameras. The first reactor house was able to resume operations after only 5 months, testifying to the correctness of the approach that had been adopted. One month later, the second reactor started up. Video shows various power station scenes, including shots of one or more control rooms. Construction of the "sarcophagus" ended on 30 November 1986. Video shows the finished structure. Also in the fall of 1986, power workers moved into the new settlement of Zelenyy Mys, seen on video.

The announcer notes that decontamination work continued into 1987. One of the most difficult areas to decontaminate was the roofing of the adjacent reactor houses. Video shows this hazardous work in progress. The radioactive material was removed from the site in specially protected vehicles and taken to burial sites. The containers holding the material were then encased in an airtight covering. Video shows stacks of containers. Eight such sites were planned, located in areas already contaminated. It was also decided to destroy and bury large tracts of contaminated woodland—a decision that was more controversial. Journalist Valeriy Makarenko, identified by caption, standing on the site of a former forest, describes how it was transformed into a burial ground.

The next sequence describes how uranium fuel rods inside the stricken reactor, which had survived the explosion, were removed by staff of the special-purpose enterprise Kompleks. S.A. Shtefan, leader of the Toplivo program, says in an interview that the fuel rods, worth approximately R2 million, could be used elsewhere. In any case, he says, it would not have been a good idea to leave them inside the "sarcophagus." Video shows the fuel assemblies being cut up into smaller sections with a circular saw for removal from the building and eventual reprocessing.

The announcer says that, meanwhile, work on the "sarcophagus" continued, with the aim of obtaining additional scientific data from various sensors inside it about the state of the reactor's radioactive core. Men also entered the ruined building via a lead-lined corridor to examine the contents of the core, which melted during the accident and had since cooled. Information about Chernobyl can be obtained these days from the Kombinat production association, which has been set up within the 30-km zone.

The announcer says that since February 1987, more than 200 foreigners have visited Chernobyl with the help of Kombinat. Richard Mould, introduced by the announcer as "the well-known British radiological physician, writer, and historian," then appears on the screen, praising the speedy evacuation measures and condemning sensationalist reports in the Western press. He also calls for more public education on the nature and use of radioactivity, and says that the "sarcophagus" presents no further danger to mankind. The announcer then gives a telephone number for anyone to call seeking information about Chernobyl: Chernobyl 5-28-05.

The next sequence deals at some length with the fate of art treasures in the stricken area, which are being stolen by "marauders." Video shows such art treasures as religious paintings, icons, and ecclesiastical books. Some objects have already been destroyed by the elements, rats, and mice, a specialist introduced by the announcer says. Part of the problem is that no one has the legal right to take possession of these treasures on behalf of the state, even though they have been abandoned. No official body wants to accept responsibility for them. They are victims of "bureaucratic indifference," the announcer says.

The film then turns to the damage done to the countryside. Video shows farm horses that have now become wild. The announcer says villages are scattered throughout the area. There are, however, some "self-settled people" [samosely]—people who refuse to move from their houses in the affected area. One such couple is interviewed. They say they feel fine. One is 73, the other 63. They were born in the village Cherevach and wish to die there. Over further video of desolate countryside, the announcer says that the latest estimates put the cost of the damage inflicted on the USSR by the Chernobyl accident at about R8 billion.

The announcer says Chernobyl's third reactor [millionnik] was put on load toward the end of last year. Video shows the machine room and various contorl consoles. The announcer introduces M.P. umanets, director of the Chernobyl AES, who says that, although there were some who opposed the commissioning of the third reactor, its safe operation has shown that the decision to proceed was correct. The ventilation system of the third reactor, which is shared with the fourth reactor, constitutes no danger to the environment, Umanets says.

The announcer says the special enterprise kompleks is hard at work rehabilitating the town of Pripyat. So far, equipment worth more than R30 million has been recommissioned. Yuriy Nikolayevich Samoylenko, director of the enterprise, says in an interview that the purpose of Kompleks is to provide the basis for a nationwide emergency squad set up to deal with just such accidents as the Chernobyl catastrophe. He adds that another part of the organization's work will be the decommissioning of obsolete nuclear power stations.

The scene then shifts to the new town of Slavutich. The announcer says different Soviet republics built individual districts of the town. The announcer highlights the high standards of construction and comfort of the facilities, which are seen on video. Families are already moving in; some are interviewed on camera. They express satisfaction with the new town, but regret their enforced move from their previous homes.

The announcer introduces Ye.I. Ignatenko, general director of the Kombinat Production Association, who says that the main tasks in the area this year are to establish good road communications between Slavutich and the Chernobyl AES, and to decontaminate and clean up the abandoned town of Pripyat, so that it can be used as a "technological town," where various, unspecified processes can be "prepared." There is also the job of decontaminating the town of Chernobyl, which is scheduled for 1988, Ignatenko notes. Video shows rows of cars with their license plates removed. Further decontamination work in the "zone" is also planned for 1988, Ignatenko adds. The "zone" is no longer a danger to surrounding areas.

The film ends with a song about the regeneration of the stricken area, over video of desolate countryside gradually being restored to life by rehabilitation projects, intercut with scenes from the Chernobyl control room.

Moscow Monument to Chernobyl Victims Planned

LD0507121688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] On the night of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station, the firemen were the first to enter the battle with the fire. Each of them knew how great the risk was and what lay in the threat of radiation, but the firemen went into the flames, understanding what disaster it could bring upon thousands of families living far from Chernobyl. No one backed away. By a Government decision, a monument to the Soviet citizens who died as a result of the accident will be erected in the (?Mitinskoye) Cemetery in Moscow.

Economic

Shmelev Urges Changes in Economic Strategy

PM1107103688 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 1 Jul 88 p 8

[Article by Soviet economist Nikolay Shmelev: "Soviet Economy and its Dependence on CPSU"]

[Text] As an economist, I believe that the Theses for discussion at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference embody some far-reaching ideas. It is a cause for satisfaction that the party has at last begun to relieve itself of economic functions that are not properly its own, though this does not mean that it will cease entirely to be active in the economic field. As the ruling party, it is obliged to be so. Every society needs its command to determine the strategy for social development. However, the way in which party officials have dealt with economic matters until a few weeks ago resembled, rather, the constant distortion of the strategic line.

The process of industrial and agricultural recovery will proceed all the more rapidly the more quickly we succeed in relieving party bodies of operational work. The Theses reflect the party's deep anxiety about the way the reform is proceeding. The Theses state that "...it is necessary to sharply condemn actions that distort the essence of economic reform and that direct and indirectly subvert the state enterprise law." True, it must be condemned, but it is also necessary to understand what is curbing the transformation of the economy.

We tend to seek the causes of this curb in the bureaucracy's fear of losing its means of control and its positions within society. In my opinion this is only one aspect of the problem, and I do not consider it the main one. The basic problem is that the old system of economic management still survives and is still fully functioning. As before, we direct our economy toward attaining the maximum rates of development and toward achieving results, whatever the cost. This situation can be explained historically and psychologically, because for 60 years we have tried to ensure high growth rates without considering whether we needed so many goods. It seems impossible to stop and to abandon this habit once and for all.

In am sure that for the 12th 5-year period unnecessarily high growth rates have been planned in all fields of the national economy without distinction. In fact such rates are necessary only in the so-called high-technology fields. However paradoxical it may seem, what is needed in the traditional sectors is a lowering of growth rates, which would open the way to qualitative improvements and the introduction of advances in scientific and technological progress that will permit more efficient production. What is the point of our producing more machine tools, more steel, or more footwear? What is needed is not more goods but better quality. Even in agriculture high growth rates are not needed. The task is to conserve what we produce, to conserve everything down to the last grain.

I would express my thinking as follows: It is impossible to restructure and "accelerate" at the same time. First, we must stop in order to change the structure of the national economy in favor of new sectors, to reduce the proportion of production of raw materials and of sectors requiring major investments. Only once this has been done will it be realistic to return to the task of achieving high growth rates. Therefore the debate about economic reform must inevitably be a discussion of our priorities.

It is a question of principle, in which many of our present troubles are rooted, and a question of why there is such an obstinate clinging to the methods of order and command. In my opinion the first step that must be taken is the development of agriculture.

It is no coincidence that Chinese economists gave priority to the most pressing problem of all: supplying the population with food products. If we concentrate our efforts on agriculture for a couple of years, if we achieve a decisive success in this field, we can ensure a social climate in which progress will be much more dynamic and the people will better understand the set objectives.

In principle the path that we have taken in this direction is correct. The lease contract can radically alter this situation: It must be approached more boldly, its successes must be made more widely known, and it must be made more attractive. However, the lease must be long-term or perhaps even in perpetuity. Another factor that could help create a favorable climate for reform is the development of the cooperative in the city, in the services and small industries. Such cooperatives are capable of reviving our commerce and services.

On the other hand I would not hasten to carry out a reform of prices, though I was among the first to start talking about this need. I see that the idea of altering the structure of prices is being replaced by the basic desire to increase prices, thus filling certain holes in the budget. I believe that the reform of prices—especially if we are talking about retail rather than wholesale prices—must be carried out only once the market shows signs of improvement and when we have saturated it with goods, albeit slightly [sentence as published]. Otherwise the idea of restructuring will be discredited among ordinary Soviet citizens.

The Theses embody all our problems, with some expressions of frankness and toughness. Now it is necessary to define ways of resolving them.

Economist on Speech at CPSU Conference

LD1107150988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 11 Jul 88

["Moscow-Warsaw Radio Bridge" hosted by V. Konyukhov, with Soviet economist Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, filmmaker R.A. Bykov, journalist D.D. Biryukov, and three unidentified Polish counterparts—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Abalkin] A great deal was said at the party conference about our country's economic life, and we all fully realize now that further progress in the economy, in restructuring—including restructuring of the administrative system—depends on transformation of the political system. Without this the reform cannot produce results, although we also fully realize that if we fail to carry out profound economic reforms and to go all the way with the policy of total financial autonomy and self-financing, transformations in the political system cannot by themselves bring success. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified Polish participant in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] I have a question for Professor Abalkin. I followed the conference; and your speech there drew a great response in Europe. There have been various assessments of your speech: Some commentators saw it as an attack by conservative forces on the tenets contained in Comrade Gorbachev's report.

[Konyukhov] Let's get to the bottom of this, Leonid Ivanovich. Indeed it may be that it is not just our Polish comrades who have formed the impression that you represent the convservative forces, although I know that the contrary is true. Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin in fact represents the most progressive economic forces in our country. Go ahead please.

[Abalkin] In my speech I was putting forward not only my personal view, but also the findings of research by scientists and economists in the leading establishments of our Academy of Sciences. Moreover—as all the delegates evidently know, but perhaps it would be worthwhile mentioning for the Poles—before the conference we met hundreds and thousands of people, Communists and nonparty members, who gave their mandates and their concern over the destiny and the course of the economic restructuring.

The main thing in my speech was concern, concern over the fact that the process of transformation is not proceeding quite in the way in which we could implement it. It is not just a matter of objective difficulties—although these also exist, and the economy has not been developing in easy circumstances—for we have often acted differently from the way we intended and there have been deviations from the policy of economic reform determined a year ago at the June Plenum of the CPSU. This involves the preservation of the old planning methods and of many bureaucratic work methods in our central economic establishments. And I expressed concern that without breaking these trends we will not be able to complete the reform and obtain good results.

Another thought which I would like to put forward is that reform is a comprehensive process where everything is interlinked. One cannot take just one aspect of the transformation and then forget about it. In particular, we are now tackling one of the fundamental problems—enhancing the activity of the local government bodies, the soviets. We have to restructure their activities and introduce democratic principles, foundations, and self-government in their work, but I am convinced—and I mentioned this—that this will go beyond formalities and mere words and become reality only if we provide it with an economic basis, if we genuinely expand the economic rights of the local bodies, if we give them the right to decide issues. This is connected with transferring many territories and republics to principles of financial autonomy and self-financing. This is a subject brought up often at the conference and which was supported by virtually every speaker. That, I think, was the essence of my speech.

I also spoke about the role and responsibility of science in tackling these issues, and I said that science must not stand on the sidelines, but be a component part, involved in the mechanism of political decision-making. It should be able to act as an opponent to state bodies and be, to a certain extent, independent and autonomous in its views. It should be able to adopt alternative decisions, so that the political leadership will have the opportunity to chose and compare various options and be able to more successfully lead the economic, social, and political transformations. [passage omitted]

I assess the processes taking place in our country as a gradual, perhaps slow, but steady process of involving even broader masses in the process of restructuring and reform. Today it is no longer a case of mechanical endorsement, of people raising their hands and voting for the restructuring. The breakthrough began perhaps 6 months ago, when, beginning this year, we truly began to transfer our enterprises to financial autonomy and self-financing, and when the cooperative movement began to develop widely. That meant that people were becoming involved, not just verbally or in a pro forma way, but through real participation. A mass of problems immediately arose, and there were many conflicts between the center and labor collectives. Very serious issues were raised, concerning approaches to the plan and state orders and the distribution of output. Thus there is a process of gradual involvement of ever broader masses in the restructuring not only as passive endorsers of that process, but as true actors. [passage omitted]

One of the central problems, with which you are probably very familiar in Poland, is price reform. We have said, and this was once again confirmed by the conference, that such a reform would be implemented only after broad nationwide discussion. There is no question of, say, people going to bed under the old system and waking up to read in the papers about the new reforms. It will be an open and broad process with genuine democratic discussion and comparison of different points of view. Of course, not everyone will always be satisfied, but that's the only way the question can be tackled. The conference once again confirmed—this is no new policy, it is one determined as far back as the congress—that the consumer is to be given priority, social aims are to be given priority in economic development. After all, what we need is not millions of tonnes of steel, pig iron, or oil and not even quantities of machine-tools, but real improvements in people's lives.

Do we currently hear the voice of the consumer? Only faintly, in a whisper. He cannot speak out fully because the market levers have not developed. The market is not balanced, it is not saturated. Only under those circumstances can the consumer dictate his conditions. Even the first cooperatives are in monopolistic positions and are dictating prices to the consumers. We need time and effort to saturate the market, to balance income and expenditure, and to allow the consumer to speak out at the top of his voice. And that's not all: We also need organizational forms, in particular, we are thinking about setting up a whole system of consumer cooperative organizations which would protect the interests of consumers and provide a platform for the expression of those interests.

It's a tough issue, one which demands time, but our course, our political course and resolve here are perfectly clear. The conference strengthened that approach and reinforced it with the authority of the party's highest political forum. Our clearcut position is that it is impermissable to substitute mere price increases and price reductions in the form of a simultaneous measure for a reform of price-formation, that is, the transfer to a new price system or model—flexible and mobile prices taking into account the effect of consumer requirements and acting as an incentive. This is in line with the spirit of last June's decisions on reform and is confirmed in the documents adopted by the conference stating that it is a question of reforming price-formation, that is, the transfer to a new price system or model—flexible and mobile prices taking into account the effect of consumer requirements and acting as an incentive. This is in line with the spirit of last June's decisions on reform and is confirmed in the documents adopted by the conference stating that it is a question of reforming price-formation, the entire mechanism and process, and of including it in a united system of planning, financial autonomy, and market methods of regulation. [passage omitted]

Agricultural

Farm Machinery Import-Export Body Profiled

PM0807082188 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 7 Jul 88 p 3

[Ye. Petrakov report: "Association of Business Cooperation"]

[Text] The address Building 4, Chernyshevskiy Pereulok, Moscow is becoming increasingly well known. That is where the association of business cooperation with foreign countries in the sphere of agricultural production and the processing sectors and the USSR agro-industrial complex, the "Agropromservis" for short, is located. Recently the association's founders held a meeting which approved the rules and program of activity and elected the leading organs—a council and directorate.

The association studies questions of the creation and operation on USSR territory of joint enterprises in the sphere of agricultural production and the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, the export of machinery, equipment, technology planned and produced by enterprises of the USSR Gosagroprom, commodity exchange and barter operations, the satisfaction of the import needs of agro-industrial complex organizations and enterprises by means of currency earnings from the export of output, the organization of the technical servicing and repair of imported machines and equipment, as well as the organization in other countries of the technical servicing of agricultural equipment exported from the USSR.

The association's sphere of activity includes the provision of services to scientific research, planning and design, and other organizations and enterprises of the USSR Gosagroprom in the joint implementation of scientific and technical programs with foreign firms, the exchange of progressive technologies, the export and import of licenses, "engineering" and "knowhow" services, and consultations between enterprises and organizations of the USSR Gosagroprom system on questions of foreign economic activity.

'Concern' Over New Farm Setup Addressed

PM0807092988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jul 88 p 2

[Interview with Doctor of Economic Sciences, Professor V.F. Bashmachnikov, conducted by own economic observer P. Voshchanov: "Whither the Countryside?"—date, place not given]

[Text] Voshchanov: Vladimir Fedorovich, I would like to begin our discussion by reading you a short excerpt from a letter sent to the editorial office:: "So it's come to this! In the 8th decade of Soviet power people have begun singing the praises of the kulak! And you conceal all these disgraceful things with Leninist ideas! Who are you trying to please by threatening the kolkhozes? It's shameful!"

Bashmachnikov: I cannot basically agree with that. We are not hiding behind Leninist ideas but returning to them! We are not destroying the kolkhozes but reconstituting and reviving them! All of our work today is bound up with the 19th party conference. It summed up the results of restructuring's achievements and mapped out the new tasks. But will be possible to resolve them with a "limping" agriculture? Of course not. It is holding us back all the time today. That is why the countryside so needs restructuring and reviving.

Voshchanov: Much capital investment has been funneled into agriculture in the last 30 years. If I am not mistaken, it has risen almost sixfold during this time. The results, however, are not gratifying. Perhaps even more resources should have been put in?

Bashmachnikov: There are, of course, quite a few problems demanding capital investment in agriculture: There is a shortage of housing, the roads are bad, the mechanization of production has just not been seen through.... In short, investment—and quite a lot—is necessary. But is essential that it be recouped in output. Some specialists have been making promises to us for several decades now: Supply agriculture with everything it requires, and then we will get a return! Enormous resources have been invested to the accompaniment of these assurances, but, as we can see, we are still a long way off an abundance of output. That is to say, the main cause does not lie here. The question is: Who is to manage these resources and how. Will they find the right home? For the time being, by all accounts, they are failing to do so. We are now investing almost 6 times more than 30 years ago but the return we obtain from each ruble is 19 times less.

Voshchanov: You encounter the following thought in many readers' letters: The kolkhoz and sovkhoz leadership grew slack during the years of stagnation. It needs to be tightened up, so to speak, and everything will be fine and dandy....

Bashmachnikov: "Tightening up"—we do that impeccably! But can you really bring up managers by cracking the whip? And can a "nomenklatura" leader who is continually shifted from one farm to another become such? Alternately rewarded and punished! In the non-Chernozem zone one leader in two is in his job for under 5 years. But why do we reduce the whole problem to the leader? The task is also that of ensuring that every worker feels he is in charge. Then you will not then have to goad him on and keep tabs on him. He will see the blunders and the reserves for himself.

Voshchanov: You consider that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes have not solved this task?

Bashmachnikov: The way they are now, no. After all, most of them were set up by coercion. The individual was quashed, as a rule, and collectives were formed with no account taken of workers' social compatibility. After destroying the peasant's customary "mine" and talking to him about the appealing "our," the compulsory cooperative system only produced irresponsibility and destructive and demoralizing anonymity of ownership. That is the root of today's difficulties in agriculture!

When kolkhozes were set up production was modeled on large industry. Thus "grain factories" and "dairy plants" were dreamed up! And small economic forms like farmsteads and family farms? They were virtually excluded. Yet many experts warned even then that this path would have a pernicious effect on agricultural production.

Voshchanov: Letters sent to the editorial office by some veterans of the kolkhoz movement often make the reproach that young people have lost a sense of the glorious traditions of collectivism. Hence, it is said, the disintegration in the countryside.

Bashmachnikov: But is it worth mourning the loss of a collectivism imposed from above? And could it arise in kolkhozes built as an organization of a regimented type in which the peasant has but one right—the right to execute the order from on high? Of course, examples can be cited of "well-knit" kolkhozes. But these are the "beacon lights," after all, quite often lit simply for show, to please a high-ranking boss, for example!

Could all farms reach their level? No, of course not. It is possible to create preferential conditions for one or two farms in an oblast, but in no way for all of them. And in general you could count the number of those that obtained good results by their own labor, so to speak, on the fingers of one hand. They mostly got it hot from zealous administrators. Unsanctioned "beacon lights" were quickly put out!

True, in the first few agricultural artels, particularly those where the land and equipment were allocated to small teams, peasant industriousness and diligence were still maintained for a while out of inertia. But just out of inertia....

Voshchanov: But in view of the political situation in those years, out of a fear still of the most brutal punishment....

Bashmachnikov: What I believe is that it was no longer diligence but merely the appearance of it. The situation got worse in the postwar period. Kolkhozes and their subunits were repeatedly enlarged. The link between kolkhoz members' interests and the end results of collective labor became even more illusory. And the result? Agricultural productivity declined.

What does this indicate? It indicates that a lack of individual interest cannot be made up for by collective interest. People are drawn to a collective if it does not suppress them but helps them to realize their individual interests. If peasants have no vital interest in joint labor, collectivism itself becomes just a slogan which people cease to notice.

Voshchanov: And clearly the sense of being in charge was lost as a result of all this, was it not?

Bashmachnikov: Kolkhoz members were essentially turned into hired laborers and at certain stage—worse, into farm hands without rights. Poor labor and technological discipline, lack of interest, and indifference to leaders' actions were typical of them.

Labor enthusiasm was gradually snuffed out and order was maintained by strict administrative measures. Note how, as soon as regimental-style leadership was ousted by administrative-economic management, albeit of a modest nature, the countryside reacted with a decline in discipline and an exodus of the able-bodied population. This was not without reason! Peasant labor had lost all appeal.

Voshchanov: Which is why the trickle of migration from country to city turned into a deep, rapid-flowing torrent.

Bashmachnikov: The peasant, deprived of many social benefits enjoyed by his fellow-countryman in the city, quit his native hearth, not without pain but with a sense of conviction. The rural population declined by 10 percent every 10 years. And yet who were leaving the countryside? The energetic, capable, and competent workers.

Rebuilding the countryside's labor potential is a very difficult task now! The very greatest patience and effort is needed here. Appeals won't get us anywhere. It is important to attract modern and, as Lenin put it, civilized proprietors into rural labor.

Voshchanov: Only after the hard-working peasant has been revived can the efficiency of agricultural production be enhanced. But how is that task to be solved?

Bashmachnikov: It would be advisable, for example, to revive certain prekolkhoz forms of cooperation. Particularly, family farms specializing in producing a specific type of output. Such farms can operate on their own and at a certain stage be combined into interfamily cooperatives.

What has to be done to achieve this? A step such as leasing out part of the land currently allocated to sovkhozes and kolkhozes is inevitable. To whom? To families that prefer and are able to manage the land on their own. I do not consider it a great fantasy, for example, to carry out open competitions for the leasing of land, animals, and equipment. The family or collective wishing to work a lease must present a well-defined program and defend it at the labor kolkhoz council or local soviet session. Incidentally, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA could undertake to conduct such a social experiment.

Voshchanov: An interesting suggestion. But don't you think that for many readers the idea of handing out kolkhoz land will be virtually blasphemous? I can imagine the stream of angry letters we will receive....

Bashmachnikov: It is, of course, easier to restructure production than to restructure consciousness. But most of us have learned since our schooldays that kolkhozes are our supreme achievement. All other kinds of farms are less efficient and even antisocialist.

Of course, not everyone can simply suppress this dogma in them. It is far easier to convince oneself that leasing out land means restoring a petit-bourgeois structure in the countryside. But are there any grounds for this? I do not think so, since individual peasant farms are based solely on individual labor. Furthermore, no one is saying that we are going to completely abandon the kolkhoz-sovkhoz option. Farms and small artels are not to replace all collective farms but to operate in parallel with them. It is in the interests of all us consumers to establish healthy labor competition.

Voshchanov: Some readers voice concern here: Will the family farms and small artels not produce only what can be sold profitably and is expensive? Won't cheap but essential foodstuffs disappear off our store counters?

Bashmachnikov: I think that these fears are somewhat exaggerated, since these farms are more broadly geared to the market and, consequently, to the consumer's needs.

Voshchanov: If farms and artels are only one part of agricultural production, what is the fate of the other part? Of what will remain within the framework of today's existing kolkhozes and sovkhozes?

Bashmachnikov: As far as the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are concerned, I think that major restructuring lies ahead. Indeed, it has already started and is yielding its first wholly encouraging results. What is the core of this work? It consists in consistently carrying out the restructuring of modern kolkhozes and sovkhozes into kinds of cooperative associations. The course is to convert the primary links into fully economically accountable labor artels and then convert the farms themselves into cooperative unions of those artels.

Voshchanov: It is obvious, isn't it, that the development of the economic accountability contract on kolkhozes and sovkhozes corresponds to that course?

Bashmachnikov: Of course. However, the potential of the contract is not being fully realized. Statistics show that more than one-half of sown areas and of the livestock herd have now been assigned to collectives working under contract. But where is the growth in agricultural productivity? Where is the reduction in the cost of production? These things have not happened.

Why is the lever on which so many hopes were pinned not working? Mainly because of formalism. On many farms contracting collectives are formed in response to instructions "from above." That kind of "commitment" to an idea is as harmful as opposition to changes in the countryside.

Voshchanov: When the kolkhoz is turned into an association of labor artels, isn't it clearly necessary to change the nature of relations within the farm?

Bashmachnikov: It is. Every economically accountable collective—the family, the link, or the team—must be given a real right, as the owner, to negotiate with its collective partners on cooperation.

There must also be changes to relations between labor collectives and the administration. The responsibility is one-sided today. The administration decides whether it will fulfill the commitments it has made. There must be not subordination but economic partnership. And in general the apparatus of management on kolkhozes and sovkhozes must be formed on behalf of the leasing collectives and under their control.

Voshchanov: Many specialists consider that this "devalues" their role on the farms....

Bashmachnikov: Yes, we shall never see a more pitiful sight than now. There are virtually no agronomists or animal husbandry experts left now who remember their role as consultants. A new type of specialist organizer has been created whose inadequate knowledge is more than compensated by a resolute character and a loud voice. "Barrack room" authorities are hardly what the new countryside needs. It needs the specialist who participates in production either by direct work in the primary labor artel or as a consultant or assistant who is paid by the labor artels or the farming families.

Labor discipline on kolkhozes must be improved. But it is also necessary to increase their responsibility to the peasant himself. He must not feel any more that he is a hired hand. I believe that he should be given the right to leave the kolkhoz if his interests begin to conflict with those of the kolkhoz or if the latter does not fulfill its obligations. How is he to do this? With his portion of land and his agricultural equipment. Of course, in that case the kolkhoz must receive a certain compensation. But in the future no one must restrict the peasant's right to manage his own land—by himself or cooperatively with other peasants and with the kolkhoz itself.

But after the emergence of individual farms the process of a repeat collectivization is inevitable. Only this time it will be carried out voluntarily on the basis of families' deep interest in a pooling of efforts and resources.

Some specialists today are trying to adapt A.V. Chayanov's ideas to the stereotypes that have come about: The family farm is feasible, they say, but only in the framework of the existing kolkhozes. But he believed that it is necessary to abandon the attempts to create a single, universal form of labor organization in the countryside. Everything is expedient which enables the country to be fed and abundant food to be produced. Family farms, interfamily cooperatives, small agricultural artels, ultimately kolkhozes and sovkhozes—that is how the picture of the countryside can and must be in the future.

Scientific

Further on Launch, Research Mission of 'Phobos-2'

Research Mission Previewed

LD1207170288 Moscow TASS in English 1644 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—The Soviet automatic station Phobos II is to be blasted off from the Baykonur Cosmodrome at 21 hours 01 minutes Moscow time today. Phobos I station was launched into space on July 7. The implementation of the international project whose purpose is the exploration of Mars, of Martian moon Phobos, the sun and interplanetary space has been started. Scientists from 13 countries, as well as from the European Space Agency took part in creating the equipment.

During the orbiting of Mars by the spacecraft, Martian surface is planned to be studied by methods of distance sounding in the visible, infra-red and gamma ranges.

Before approaching Phobos the apparatuses will be consecutively on several orbits of that Martian moon, also on an elliptical orbit with a pericentre of several hundred kilometers. The most intensive study of the Martian satellite's surface is planned at that stage of the orbit. Radio and photometric measurements will be taken, the contents of the main components of its rock and the existence of natural radioactive elements will be determined.

Radiometric and photometric studies of the Martian surface will be made from an orbit of satellites of the planet by means of a radiometric spectral complex which is meant also for the studies of thermal physical and reflecting properties of the Martian surface.

The main task of the experiment is to obtain a chart of temperatures of the Martian surface, to study the dynamic of its thermal regime within a day and of seasonal dynamic, the measurement of thermal inertia of Martian soil, the quest for the areas of heat emission and permafrost zone. The research will also provide the information about the mineralogical composition of the Martian surface.

'Phobos-2' Lift Off

LD1207174688 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—A space probe, Phobos-2, was launched from the Baykonur Space Centre today.

The goal of the mission is to explore Mars and its satellite Phobos, the sun and interplanetary space.

Its companion, Phobos-1, blast off on July 7 this year. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 12 July carries live reportage from Baykonur Cosmodrome on the launch of Phobos-2. At 1705 GMT the correspondent says that stage 1 of the rocket has separated, and at 1706 GMT the controller's voice is heard saying the flight is proceeding normally. The rocket has four stages.]

International Research Cited

LD1207194688 Moscow TASS in English 1813 GMT 12 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 12 TASS—The flight of two Soviet unmanned probes to the Martian moon Phobos is a project which involves the largest number of partners in the history of cosmonautics.

Scientists from 13 countries and the European Space Agency have taken part in the development of equipment being carried by Phobos-1, which blasted off on July 7, and Phobos-2, which was launched today.

Dr. Risto Pellinen from the Finnish Meteorological Institute, who is currently in Moscow, told TASS that experts in his country have been involved in devising systems for laser and ion probing studies which will be undertaken for the first time in planetary research.

A laser ray as thin as one millimeter will strike the surface of Phobos, evaporating tiny soil particles which will then be analyzed by on-board instruments.

Finland has been involved also in theoretically preparing the spectral TV filming of the surfaces of Mars and Phobos and in designing an instrument to investigate cosmic plasma.

Another member of the Phobos project, Austria, has participated in evolving equipment to study the solar wind and its primary components—protons and alpha particles.

According to Dr. Konrad Schwingenschuh from the Space Research Institute in Graz, that country has had a part also in setting up an experiment to determine the structure and borders of the red planet's magnetosphere, which will make it possible to gain a better understanding of the processes deep inside Mars.

An international scientific meeting under way in the Soviet capital these days is discussing not only the Phobos project but also prospects for involvement in the flight of a Soviet automatic station to Mars planned for 1994.

Dr. Schwingenschuh said Austrian scientists are going to contribute to that project as well, by supplying a magnetometer and a lightning detector for an instrumented balloon to be released in the Martian atmosphere.

Possibilities are being studied for mounting Austrian equipment also on the Martian rover and orbiter.

Finnish specialists, too, plan to get involved in the 1994 project and a number of other projects. Finnish instruments will be used on board a Soviet satellite late this year, for example, to stimulate plasma processes taking place in the magnetosphere of earth under the impact of solar energy flows.

Another international project with Finnish participation, Interbol, slated for 1990, provides for physics studies regarding the sun and earth as well.

'Mir' Cosmonauts Continue Research Work

LD0807104288 Moscow TASS in English 1029 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 8 TASS—By a TASS correspondent reporting from Mission Control Centre:

The Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov have wound up their 200th day in near-earth orbit.

In keeping with a programme of geophysical research, the cosmonauts conducted on July 6 and 7 several series of visual observations and photography of Soviet territory, including farming lands in the central Black Earth zone and the Volga region, Caucasian forests, the northern part of the Black Sea and geological structures in Kazakhstan.

This work is conducted at the request of various economic branches with a view to studying the seasonal development of vegetation, obtaining information necessary for mineral prospecting and assessing the ecological situation in regions with intensive industrial activity.

Using the on-board "Roentgen" observatory, the cosmonauts fulfilled another cycle of astrophysical observations. A new X-ray star in the Vulpecula Constellation was the object of the observations.

Today's time-table provides for experiments of determining the level of noise inside the station and medical check-ups.

Titov and Manarov are feeling fine.

The flight of the orbital research complex Mir (Peace) is proceeding normally.

U.S. Report on Soviet Space Program Cited

LD0807104188 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 8 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko:

The Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation published part I of a lengthy report by the Congressional Research Service, which analyses and compares Soviet and U.S. achievements in space research and the potentials of their space programmes.

The report said that the Soviet Union had established a number of important priorities in space exploration and research.

It had opened an era of manned space station and was the first to carry out many experiments which would continue to play an important role in future space exploration by man.

The report pointed out that the Soviet Union was ahead of the United States in such a sphere as the launching of crews into orbit on long-duration space missions.

"If the United States chooses to compete with the Soviets in this area, it must have the ability to leave crews in earth orbit for very long periods of time, not the 7-10 days achievable with the shuttle in its current configuration," it said.

Among other Soviet space achievements the authors of the report mentioned the creation of a new heavy lift launch vehicle, Energiya, which they said could pave the way to Mars.

The report pointed out a considerable interest in the U.S. including in Congress, in a possibility of joint Soviet-U.S. efforts in technology and joint flights to Mars.

However, such projects required intensive work over many years and thus stable positive relations between the two countries for a long time, the authors said.

Surprisingly, they failed to mention such an example of successful Soviet-U.S. cooperation in space as the preparation and implementation of a unique experiment—the docking of a Soviet spaceship Soyuz and a U.S. spaceship Apollo—which impressed the whole world.

Among the most significant American space achievements the authors of the report mentioned the landing of astronauts on the moon under the Apollo programme and the creation of re-usable shuttle spacecraft.

Despite the Challenger tragedy, they said, the U.S. shuttle system would fly again.

The report said that on the whole the U.S. was ahead of the Soviet Union in space technology.

But it admitted that there were different criteria for assessing either country's space achievements.

"Determining 'who's ahead' requires specifying what type of space activity is being measured and what kind of prize is being sought," the report said.

Academician Discusses Data Processing System

AU0207083888 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 30 June carries on page 5 a 1,250-word interview with USSR Academician V.A. Vinogradov, director of the Scientific Information on Social Sciences Institute attached to the USSR Academy of Sciences, and chairman of the board of the "International Information System on Social Sciences (MISON)" Organization, by Zdenek Vavra during the "recent session of the MISON Board in Prague," entitled "Knowing the Truth about Society."

Vinogradov speaks about the basic tasks of the MISON organization, i.e. the improvement of scientific data processing in social sciences in the individual socialist countries; the improvement of their international scientific cooperation in this sphere; support of basic research of the sociopolitical, economic, and spiritual processes in the socialist society; the enhancement of effective ideological work, and scientific criticism of bourgeois ideology, reformism, and revisionism; and the establishment of a unified automated data system.

He rejects the theory that mankind is threatened by an explosion in the data-processing field, or by a fight in this field; advocates setting up a new data processing order based on the principle of social justice and aimed at creating a data-processing structure in the developing countries; connects this new order with the development of "glasnost", which should be linked with new political thinking (since "the security of every country depends on the security of all countries"); and points out that social sciences bear great responsibility within the restructuring process. Quoting gorbachev, he states that Marxism is a deeply objective, scientific, critical analysis of living reality and cannot be harmed by any truth, and concedes that mistakes and errors had occurred in setting the priorities for data processing methods and activities, which "had considerable negative consequences."

Finally, Vinogradov speaks of the MISON's prospects as a "well-harmonized comprehensive system, enabling every expert to work with different data bases" in his own language.

Military

Yazov Speaks on Officers' Restructuring Tasks

PM1207191188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Jul 88 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report on 12 July Kremlin reception for military academy graduates addressed by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister: "Reliably Guarding the People's Labor"]

[Text] A reception organized by the USSR Defense Ministry and the USSR Army and Navy Main Political Directorate in honor of military academy graduates was held yesterday in the halls of the Great Kremlin Palace.

The military academy graduates were met by: Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; O.D. Baklanov and A.I. Lukyanov, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee; O.S. Belyakov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee section [Defense Industry]; I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov and Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense ministers; A.D. Lizichev [no rank as published], chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; leaders of a number of ministries and departments, USSR deputy defense ministers, and military leaders. The reception was attended by generals, admirals, and officers of the USSR Armed Forces, of the armies of fraternal socialist countries and other friendly states who have completed studies at Soviet military training institutions, and academy professors and lecturers.

Army General D.T. Yazov spoke at the reception. Meetings with military academy graduates in the Kremlin, he said, are a tradition filled with profoundly inspiring meaning. This tradition gives expression to the Communist Party's attention toward military cadres, its concern for their training and education, and the Soviet people's respect for their defenders and their difficult military labor. In addition, during these meetings, the invisible baton of selfless service to the motherland and to the cause of socialism is handed on from one officer generation to the next. It is handed on at a crucial and joyful moment in your soldiers' biography, at the point when, having received a charge of new knowledge, you are setting out for your next service post.

Here in this hall, just like you today, many generals and officers who in the intervening years have become prominent military leaders and political workers, have headed army groups, formations, units, and ships and commanded them successfully, who are resolving the tasks of ensuring the Army's and the Navy's technical equipment and the training and education of personnel, and who are strengthening the might of the Armed Forces, were once given a good sendoff.

Congratulating the graduates on completing their studies, Army General D.T. Yazov read out a greeting from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers. Expressing sincere and cordial gratitude for the warm and meaningful words of the greeting, the defense minister observed that they are yet further evidence of our party and government's constant attention to and concern for officer cadres. The greeting expresses firm confidence, he said, that the officer cadres will fulfill with honor the tasks of restructuring Army and Navy life, steadfastly increasing combat readiness, and strengthening military discipline.

The defense minister stressed that the academy graduates are entering the forces at a time marked by great creative enthusiasm and tremendous responsibility for resolving the large-scale tasks set by our party's 19th all-union conference. The conference was a very major event in the life of the Soviet country, which consolidated and developed the strategic line of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress and armed the party with decisions of a program character of key significance for the cause of restructuring and for the destiny of the motherland. Their implementation will serve the strengthening of our party's role as the political vanguard of society and the soviets' role as representative organs of people's power, as well as decisively accelerate the process of revolutionary renewal and make it irreversible.

Army General D.T. Yazov observed that glasnost and restructuring impart a special conviction ot the Soviet Union's foreign policy ideas and initiatives. He gave a reminder of facts which testify to the assertion of the new political thinking and the policy based on it in the international arena. The new, major proposals on the cutting back of forces and armaments in Europe and the reduction of military-political tension in the world, which were voiced yesterday by M.S. Gorbachev at the session of the Polish Sejm, were a further development of this process. The positive trends in the development of the international situation, the defense ministers said, are obvious. But guarantees of their irreversibility, he stressed, have still to be established. Imperialist reaction has not renounced the policy of military force and continues to generate a threat to peace. NATO is elaborating plans for "compensation" and for "upgrading" the bloc's arms, calculating on achieving superiority over us through an "asymmetrical," that is, essentially one-sided reduction in the armed forces and armaments of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact through the implementation of the SDI program.

Naturally we are obliged to take all this into account in our defense building. In accordance with the 19th party conference line, its effectiveness must be ensured predominantly by means of qualitative parameters, in terms of both equipment and military science and of armed forces' composition. It must guarantee the reliable security of the Soviet state and its allies, and it is being implemented in strict accordance with our defensive doctrine.

This party demand, which flows from the general strategy of restructuring and which is essentially innovatory, makes great demands of military cadres. It is important to explain it profoundly, to apply it in your daily practical activity, and to transform it into high practical results.

The defense minister dwelt on the specific substance of the qualitative parameters and stressed the need to ensure the successful resolution of the tasks confronting Army and Navy troops by applying these parameters regarding equipment. It is important to inculcate in soldiers a careful attitude to everything that the people give us, to raise their technical standards, and to develop the ability to use weapons to their full design potential and use them effectively under any conditions, regardless of the situation.

In the sphere of military science, the paramount task consists in reducing the existing gap between military-theoretical and military-technical research and in the active realization of scientific conclusions and recommendations in the daily practice of the troops' activity.

The realization of the qualitative parameters with respect to the composition of the Armed Forces presupposes ensuring the necessary level of their combat readiness primarily through the optimum effective strength. An important role is played by the creation of the most expedient organizational structure and the enhancement of the effectiveness of control and the results obtained in combat application. Particular significance attaches to efficiently organized, intensive, and high-quality operational and combat training.

After observing that the 19th party conference decisions demand of military cadres, as they do of all Soviet people, high responsibility, professionalism, initiative, and independence, Army General D.T. Yazov said: The time of restructuring does not allow for stereotypes or routine approaches in work or the habit of constantly looking to "higher authority." This habit is the midwife of stagnation, because it is that which gave rise to indecision and inertia, dependence and indifference.

The readiness and ability to take responsibility on oneself, to make a decision and secure its fulfillment, the ability to realize the full range of authority given to one in the interest of the cause, and to act with initiative and boldness—these qualities have always been among the main attributes of a good officer. And in the epoch of restructuring and of the renewal of all aspects of the Armed Forces' life, these qualities are especially valuable. They must be organically combined with high competence, profound knowledge, and steadfast fulfillment of regulation demands and of one's service obligations.

By virtue of the very nature of his difficult, heroic profession, an officer is required to set an example of obedience and discipline, constant inner composure, devotion to the cause, and high demandingness toward himself and his subordinates. It is officers like these who are loved and respected in the Army and the Navy. Success invariably accompanies commanders and political workers who consistently and firmly maintain regulation order, carry out painstaking individual work, get to know their subordinates thoroughly by means of constant personal involvement with them in service and in daily life, understand their needs and requirements, and show concern for them not just in words but in action. Soldiers' interethnic relationships are the object of special concern for the officer. In this delicate and complex sphere, it is important to rigorously observe the principle of equal and even attitudes to persons of different nationalities and to make identical demands in terms of the fulfillment of soldiers' duties.

Nowadays, the most important indicator of military cadres' professional and political maturity is their ability to work with reliance on the party and Komsomol organization and the soldier collective. It is important to realize the creative potential of all our Armed Forces' democratic institutions as fully as possible. The officer must be able to mobilize the mass of soldiers and sailors to active, committed, responsible resolution of the tasks of combat readiness, combat training, and discipline and to place the man, the soldier, at the center of all Army and Navy life in a real manner. This constitutes the meaning of democratization in the Armed Forces.

The defense minister pointed out that general military regulations are imbued with profound democratism. Order in the subunit, unit, or ship, as well as mutual relations between servicemen organized in strict conformity with regulation demands, guarantee respect for a person's dignity and create favorable conditions for his comprehensive development. Regulation order ensures the exercise of the rights and freedoms granted to every soldier as a Soviet citizen in unbroken combination with the obligations imposed on him. An important condition of democratization is increased effectiveness in the legal education of personnel.

Democratization actively serves the consolidation of one-man command, which has always been and remains one of the cornerstone principles of Soviet military building. In the Soviet Armed Forces, it is implemented on a party basis, which assumes the widespread use of democratic forms and methods of leadership. Unfortunately, some officers forget this; they allow haughtiness and arrogance, turn themselves into bureaucrats. As a result, they lose spiritual closeness with the men and separate themselves from them. We must regard the eradication of such phenomena, Army General D.T. Yazov observed, as the paramount task of restructuring in the Armed Forces, as the core of democratization, which objectively stands against total license, willfulness, irresponsibility, and indiscipline.

The defense minister drew particular attention to the need to persistently learn to work in an atmosphere of democracy and glasnost, to master high standards of discussion, and to live in an atmosphere of mutual respect. The commander's right to make decisions and give orders is beyond dispute. But this must not be identified with blinkered and static thinking. In precisely the same way, the strict regulation of relations among servicemen has nothing in common with the prohibition of criticism and the free exchange of opinions. Our regulations provide for such exchange and for a superior to take account of his subordinates' suggestions. The wisdom of the regulations lies in the fact that, as it combines collective wisdom and will, the officer's decision or command become an absolute law for his subordinates. They are not subject to criticism or discussion. But attempts to prevent shortcomings, omissions, bureaucratic methods of work, illegal actions, or immoral behavior from being made public [ot glasnosti] run counter to military order and the demands of discipline. They must be resolutely and firmly curtailed. Nor must we tolerate attempts of a different order—to use glasnost for demagogy, carping criticism, or avoidance of responsibility.

In deepening restructuring and the process of democratization, it is important to make active use of the weapon of glasnost to expose and resolutely overcome locally existing braking mechanisms, to persistently and uncompromisingly unmask specific sources of formalism, bureaucratism, and indifference, to assert in military collectives the authority of conscientious and selfless military labor and the desire to maintain and multiply heroic combat traditions, and to show tireless concern to maintain in the units and on board the ships a healthy moral climate and an atmosphere of soldierly comradeship and firm international friendship.

The Armed Forces, USSR Defense Minister Army General D.T. Yazov said in conclusion, are entrusted with the defense of what is dearest to us: the freedom and independence of the motherland. In united combat formation with the allied armies of the Warsaw Pact states, they are reliably guarding the fraternal peoples' peaceful labor, socialism, and world peace.

The following spoke at the reception: Major B. Markarov, graduate of the V.I. Lenin Military Political Academy; Major J. Halaska of the Czechoslovak People's Army, graduate of the M.V. Frunze Military Academy; and Colonel General of Aviation B. Kremlev, chief of the Professor N.Ye. Zhukovskiy Military Aviation Engineering Academy.

The reception in honor of the military academy graduates was held in a warm and cordial atmosphere.